

TIBETAN STUDIES
S. C. DAS

TIBETAN STUDIES

SARAT CHANDRA DAS

Edited with Introduction by
ALAKA CHATTOPADHYAYA

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INTRODUCTION

TIBETAN STUDIES BEFORE SARAT CHANDRA DAS

Dr. Geza Bethlenfalvy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, with whom I had recently the opportunity of working on the Tibetan materials preserved in the National Library, Calcutta, as well as in the University of Calcutta, drew my attention to a little known manuscript preserved in the collection of what is called "Urdu/Hindi Books of Fort William", in the National Library. It bears the title (in Bengali) *Bhot Deśiya Bhāṣāra Vyākārana O Śabda*—the words and grammar of Tibet. The manuscript has two hundred sixteen pages, of which the first forty form an introduction to the Tibetan alphabets and grammar and the remaining pages (inclusive of three blank ones) is a lexicon giving Tibetan words (as pronounced) in Tibetan script with their equivalents in Bengali. The bibliographical note mentions : "Copy made under the superintendence of Dr. Carey in the year 1821/22 of the vocabulary of the Bhotani [Tibetan] language compiled by Kissen Kanta Bhose [Krishna Kanta Bose], a native employed by Government in 1814/16 as a Vakeel at the Debi Raja's court [i.e. the court of King of Bhutan]. Transmitted to the Government in a despatch from the Commissioner of Cooch Behar to the Political Departments dated 21st September, 1821. The original returned to the Secretary to the Government in the Political Department in consequence of a requisition from the office dated 10th July 1834."

I do not honestly know how adequately to thank Dr. Bethlenfalvy for drawing my attention to this manuscript, which would have remained unknown to me but for his extraordinary zeal and tenacity to search for the Tibetan materials —inclusive of materials related to Tibetan Studies—surviving in the city in which I have myself been trying to pursue Tibetan studies for some years.

We may as well have here a few words on Krishna Kanta

Bose who, as far as our present knowledge goes, seems to have been the first Indian to have attempted a grammar-cum-dictionary of Tibetan language. We are aware¹, of course, that in 1826 was published from Serampore the "first Tibetan Dictionary intended for European students" compiled by a Roman Catholic missionary whose name "has been lost". In spite of a very large number of errors and mistakes in it, its historical importance is acknowledged by some Tibetologists on the assumption of its having been the first work of its kind. Krishna Kanta Bose's manuscript "discovered" by Dr. Bethlenfalvy may as well require some revision of this view. Though copied in 1821/22, Krishna Kanta's grammar-cum-dictionary was compiled some years earlier—presumably in 1815/16, when he spent over a year in Bhutan.

By profession, Krishna Kanta Bose² was the head clerk of David Scott, then judge of Rangpur. In 1815, there was some border dispute about British occupied Bhutan. On the recommendation of Scott, the British Government sent Krishna Kanta as its representative to Bhutan to settle the dispute. The exact reason for this selection is not known, though it may not be unfounded to presume that one factor in its favour was his acquaintance with the Tibetan language. In any case, this much is known that the period of over a year Krishna Kanta spent in Bhutan was utilized by him also for other purposes. Political negotiations apart, he studied and wrote on what may be broadly described as the cultural frontier of traditional Tibet. Though his original writings are not preserved, these are not entirely lost. From the Bengali Encyclopaedia *Viśvakoṣa* edited by Nagendranath Bose we learn that these were translated into English, though published as books written by Scott.

1. Jaschke H.A., *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London 1958 (first published 1881). Preface p. v.

2. For biographical data about Krishna Kanta Bose, the best source seems to be the first edition of the Bengali Encyclopaedia *Viśvakoṣa* edited by Nagendra Nath Bose.

In his *Report on Bootan* (1939) Pemberton³ observes, "No record is said to exist of the negotiations conducted...[during] the comparatively recent visit of Kishunkant Bose, every inhabitant of Bootan whom I questioned on the subject, appear to be equally ignorant." It is for our historians, however, to explore the Government archives, where such records are not unlikely to be found.

The historians are perhaps also expected to work out a fuller account of the growing suspicion, bitterness and hostility among the Tibetans for the representatives of the British Government visiting Tibet, the intensity of which we can easily judge from Charles Bell's account of what happened after Sarat Chandra Das' first secret mission to Tibet in 1879: "The persistence of foreigners in exploring their country, so long secluded, had made them suspicious. In particular, the secret explorations of the Bengalee, Sarat Chandra Das, carried out under the auspices of the Indian Government, filled them with distrust of the power that ruled India. In a conversation which took place in 1910, the late Prime Minister of Tibet informed me that Sarat's clandestine entry and his surreptitious inquiries constituted—together with the Sikkim expedition of 1888—the chief causes which led Tibetans to suspect British intentions with regard to their country. Officials who had been on duty at the barrier-gates through which Sarat passed, and those who had shown him hospitality, were severely punished. The property of some was confiscated, others were thrown into prison. Some were executed, including a high Incarnate Lama, the high priest of the Dong-tse monastery, thirteen miles north-west of Gyantse. This was a most unusual perhaps unprecedented occurrence in Tibet."⁴

Ekai Kawaguchi adds: "...when the real nature of the

3. Pemberton R. B., *Report on Bootan*, Calcutta 1839.

4. Bell C., *Tibet Past and Present*, London 1931, pp. 59-60. Also quoted by M. Saha in his Foreword to the reprint of S. C. Das' *Autobiography*, Calcutta 1969. p. v.

mission of Sarat Chandra Das was known to the Tibetan Government, it caused extraordinary disturbance...A number of those whose complicity, unwitting though it was, was judged more serious than that of the others, were condemned to death and executed.”⁵

Apparently, there was something more than scholarly pursuit that Das was required by the British Government to carry out in Tibet. Fortunately, Sarat Chandra Das is an immensely important name for us *not because of this but in spite of this*. What he bequeathed to the world of scholarship will never be forgotten, though how his mission served the purpose of the British Government remains buried under the dust of the official archives.

But this is not what we are trying to point at at present. What we are trying to emphasise here is that the suspicion and hostility of the Tibetan Government was not there even a hundred years back when, in 1774, George Bogle headed the Mission to the court of the “Teeshoo Lama” (Tasi Lama). At that time, Tasi Lama was the Regent of Tibet and the Guardian of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, the latter having been a minor. As an important event that took place during Bogle’s Mission, Pemberton observes : “The Teeshoo Lama, entrusted to Mr. Bogle, a short time after his visit, a considerable sum of money to be expended in the erection of a temple on the banks of the Hooghly River, immediately opposite to Calcutta, for which purpose a grant of land had been made to the Lama by a *sunud* of the Indian Government”.⁶

The attitude of the Tibetans (though with understandable diplomacy) to India and the British Government of that time may be judged from the following.

“Mr Bogle in relating the conversations he had (during his First Mission) with the Tashi Lama at Tashi Rabgya says, that on one occasion the Lama assured him that ‘his heart was

5. Quoted by M. Saha, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

6. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p. 4. In the archives of the Bhoṭ Bāgān Monastery, Gaur Das Bysack finds actually four *sanads*, the texts and translations of which are given by him in JASB 1890, pp. 94—99.

open, and well disposed towards the English, and that he gave no credit to the representations which had been made to their disadvantage.' 'I wish' (continued Tashi Lama) '*a place on the banks of the Ganges* to which I might send my people to pray. I intend to write to the Governor on this subject, and wish you would second my application.'...Mr Bogle, in his letter to Mr Hastings of the 5th December, which perhaps he wrote from the above place, alludes to the Lama's desire of founding a religious house on the banks of the Ganges, and adds what he heard from the Lama: 'About seven or eight hundred years ago, the Tibetan Pontiffs had many monasteries in Bengal, and their priests used to travel to that country in order to study the religion and languages of the Brahmins and to visit the holy places in Hindustan...The Lama is sensible that it will throw great lustre on his pontificate and serve to extend his fame and character, if he can, after so long an interval, obtain a religious establishment in Bengal, and he is very solicitous about this point. He proposes, also, to send some of his Gyelongs, during the cold season, to wait upon you at Calcutta, and afterwards to go on pilgrimage to Gaya and other places, and has written to Chedzum Tamba at Peking, who has great interest with the Emperor, informing him that the English are now masters of Bengal; that you, their chief, have shown him great favour; that the English allow every one to follow his own religion unmolested; and advising him to send some persons to wait upon you, and to visit the principal temples in Bengal.'⁷

What resulted from this?

This leads us to see the career of another Indian who—long before Sarat Chandra Das—and evidently decades before Krishna Kanta Bose worked on the grammar and lexicon of Tibetan language—not only visited Tibet, spent a considerable period of time there studying Tibetan language and culture, worked for improving cultural and commercial relations between Tibet and India and many things besides. We may as well have here a few words on this remarkable

7. Quoted by Gaur Das Bysack in JASB 1890, pp. 68—69.

person, specially because of his connection with the first centre of genuine Indo-Tibetan cooperation set up in India in the eighteenth century, namely the *Bhoṭ Bāgān*.

The European writers mention him as Poorungeer.⁸ though his actual name was Pūraṇ Giri (1743—1795).⁹ Gaur Das Bysack, mentions him as Puran Gir Gossain. The life of this person had indeed been so colourful that we are tempted to go into some detail of it.

Though presumably a monk of the sect originally founded by Śamkarācārya, he was a very adventurous explorer and competent linguist, peculiarly combining with these the abilities of a crafty diplomat as well as a very keen commercial sense. He is said to have renounced the life of the householder and became a monk at an early age. And then he started touring various places in India and abroad. From the district of Howrah, to which he originally belonged, he travelled to Rameswaram *en route* to Sri Lanka. During his return voyage from Sri Lanka, he visited Malay; after reaching back India, he extensively toured Malavar, Cochin and Dvaraka. After that he went to Kabul *via* Hinglaj, meeting Ahmad Shah Abdali near Gazni. From there he went to Khorasan and from Khorasan reached Astrakhan, where, it is said, he received a hearty welcome from the Indians settling there. From there he walked for eighteen days and reached Moscow after crossing a frozen river, presumably the Volga. On his way back, he visited Tabbriz, Ispahan, Basra, Maskat and reached Surat. After sometime, he started for a second round of tour. This time he visited Balkh, Bokhara, Samarkand, and then, crossing Kashmir, went upto the sources of the Ganges and Jamuna rivers.

8. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

9. The best account of the life of Pūraṇ Giri Gosai as well as of the history of *Bhoṭ Bāgān* (Ghusarir Tyamk, Howrah) are to be found in *Notes on a Buddhist Monastery at Bhoṭ Bāgān (Howrah), on two rare and valuable Tibetan MSS discovered there, and on Pūraṇ Gir Gosaim, the celebrated Indian Achārya and Government Emissary at the Court of Tashi Lama, Tibet, in the last century*. By Gaur Das Bysack. JASB 1890, pp. 50—99.

But it was his third expedition that interests us most for our present discussion. He went to Nepal, from Nepal to Manasarovar and from Manasarovar to Tibet. His stay in Tibet was a long one and during this time he acquired a remarkable proficiency in Tibetan and Mongolian languages as well as a profound knowledge of Tibetan religion and culture. He must have had also a remarkable charm, because he soon became an intimate friend of Taṣi Lama, who was at that time the Guardian of the then minor Dalai Lama. The diplomatic talents of our roving monk Pūraṇ Giri came to prominence during this period. His friendship with Taṣi Lama proved useful for the purpose. In 1772, when Pūraṇ Giri was only 29, there started a war between the king of Bhutan and that of Coochbehar. Officers of the East India Company utilised the opportunity of bringing Coochbehar under their rule and the king of Bhutan appealed to Tibet and China for military aid. Taṣi Lama thought it was politically expedient to appeal to Hastings for intervention and restoration of peace. Pūraṇ Giri was entrusted with the responsibility of reaching the Lama's letter to Hastings.

Pūraṇ Giri apparently earned also much confidence of the East India Company, which, in 1774, sent him as its representative to Lhasa. Taṣi Lama, interested in improving the relations between the Tibetan and Indian Governments, requested Hastings for the grant of some land in India for setting up a settlement for the Tibetans. Thanks to Pūraṇ Giri's negotiations, Hastings made a grant of two adjacent lands measuring 100 *bighā*-s and 50 *bighā*-s each, for the settlement of the Tibetans at Ghusudi in Howrah district. With the funds received from Taṣi Lama and under the supervision of Pūraṇ Giri was founded there in 1780 the Tibetan monastery, which was called *Bhoṭbāgān Maṭh*.

In 1779 he accompanied Taṣi Lama to Peking and played important role in political negotiations there affecting the relation between Tibet, China and India. In 1780, when

Taśi Lama died of smallpox in Peking, it was Pūraṇ Giri, again, who was among the important officers entrusted with the responsibility of bringing his deadbody back to Lhasa.

In 1783, Hastings sent another Mission to Tibet with Captain Turner along with Pūraṇ Giri. The specific object of this mission is not so clear, nor was the reception of it by the Tibetans particularly cordial, though Pūraṇ Giri was included in the mission apparently with the idea that his personal relations with the Tibetans could help matters.

Pūraṇ Giri last visited Tibet in 1785. After this, he retired permanently in the *Bhoṭbāgān Maṭh*, where the Governor General used to visit him for consultations in matters concerning the policy to Tibet. Political talents apart, the monk had also a keen commercial sense. It was largely because of his policy and organization, that Indian trade with Tibet vastly improved and the *Bhoṭbāgān Maṭh* became a big centre for Tibetan merchants, and the monastery became a repository of considerable amount of gold brought from Tibet. That really meant the end of the monk's life. In 1795, the monastary was attacked by a gang of robbers and Pūraṇ Giri was murdered while trying to resist them.

While looking back at the life of Pūraṇ Giri, the Tibeto-logists today cannot but feel extremely sad not merely because of the gruesome way in which he met his end but also because what the academic world was deprived of what could be reasonably expected of this remarkable man. His profound knowledge of Tibetan language, religion and culture, his vast experience of Tibetan life, manners and customs resulting from his repeated visit and prolonged stay there, his personal friendship with Taśi Lama who was then the spiritual and secular ruler of Tibet—and all this combined with his international experience—could have certainly entitled him to bequeath to the world of learning much more than what he actually left, though we do not have a full knowledge of his real contributions. We are told, of course, that he wrote a graphic account of his experiences. "Who translated it is not known, but a translation was with Mr. Hastings from

whom, through various channels, Mr. A. Dalrymple obtained it and published it in the *Oriental Reportory*.¹⁰

About a decade before the death of Pūraṇ Giri was born in a distant country another extraordinary person, whose activities form the first real landmark of Indo-Tibetan studies in the modern sense. He was the Hungarian scholar Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842), who, even during his lifetime, became some kind of legend as it were. Peculiarly enough, though even in his early life he showed extraordinary competence as a linguist, he had hardly any notion of Tibetan language and culture, to which he was drawn in a somewhat accidental sense, while roving the world drawn by an idea that almost appears to us to have been somewhat crazy. Nevertheless, once he came across the great fund of Tibetan literature, he developed an exclusively absorbing interest in it, lived the life of what is described as a "hermit scholar", and, in a literal sense, showed us—the Indians—the path of the rediscovery of a very important area of our cultural heritage by the study of the Tibetan sources. The life and activities of Csoma de Koros are perhaps best summed up by his countryman Geza Bethlenfalvy whom therefore we quote at some length :

"Alexander Csoma de Koros was a poor student on a scholarship in the famous University of Gottingen, dreamed of a great journey to Central Asia. He was to become the first—and greatest—name of modern Hungarian Indology. Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842) was born in Transylvania in a poor family belonging to the military nobles called Szekely. According to early traditions, the Szekelys and Hungarians were descendants of the Huns who fought both the Chinese—(in whose chronicles they were called Hiung-nu)—and the Roman Empire, under Attila, the great Hun conqueror of the 4th century. According to these legends, the centre of Attila's empire was in Hungary and he is buried in the bed of the river Tisza in three coffins made of iron, silver

10. *Ib.* p. 78.

and gold.

In the early 19th century, Hungary was impoverished and it was just beginning to revive after a century of lethargy following the brutally suppressed freedom struggle of the years 1704-1711 led by Rakoczi. For a nation in the process of awakening, belief in a glorious past was far more important than even bread. Korosi Csoma decided to take upon himself the task of giving scientific, 19th century reality to the legend—of establishing the linguistic and historic relationships of his nation, and of finding the offspring of the Huns, that is, the Hungarians who remained in Asia.

There was no government to support his undertaking, in fact he left without a passport, he only had a permit to go to Bucharest on some business. He had no passport and no official support, and an insufficient amount of money—but he had certain qualities which were to be of more use : he knew languages—such as Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Russian and English, which he was able to learn in the Bethlen College of Nagyenyed, and in Gottingen (where he had studied for two years with the help of a British scholarship, which was regularly granted to a needy student of the Bethlen College). And even more valuable was his ability to walk long distances, to sleep without a bed or a blanket, to survive on almost any kind and quantity of food, and to value the company of poor and simple people.

His journey was not especially lucky : he could not cross Turkey because of an epidemic of plague in Constantinople; when, through Alexandria, Damascus and Tehran he arrived in Bukhara, he could not proceed further north-east because of rumours of a war. When after another roundabout way (via Kabul, Lahore and Srinagar), he tried to enter Central Asia by the Karakorum-road, he was stopped at Leh, the Capital of Ladakh.

Csoma in Ladakh : It was not the worst place for a philologist to be stopped : all around were ancient monasteries full of books unknown and inaccessible till then. Their language had not yet been deciphered by European learning. When

the English traveller W. Moorcroft offered Korosi Csoma some assistance, he happily agreed to stay and prepare a grammar and dictionary of the Tibetan language in the hope that in the books preserved in the monasteries he would find some records about those legendary heroes he had set out to learn about.

He found something else—and it was no less fascinating. As he got more and more involved in the study of the language, a hidden treasure-trove of literary works opened before the eyes of the astonished philologist : thousands of unknown Sanskrit works, which had been forgotten many centuries before in India, but preserved in faithful Tibetan translations.

Originally, Csoma wanted to prepare the grammar and dictionary within a year, and then to continue his journey to Central Asia—but actually he was so fascinated by the richness of the literature he discovered, that the study of Tibeto-Sanskrit Buddhist literature and wisdom—and later of Sanskrit and Bengali—took up 20 fruitful years of his life.

The first eight years were spent in the windswept and snow-covered monasteries of Ladakh and Kinnawar. Here he had great luck, because he found a real guru who was able and ready to initiate him into all the important sources of knowledge, hidden not only from Europeans but also from Indian learning. As Csoma reports, Sangye Phuntsog, a red-sect lama of Zanskar had professional knowledge of medicine, astronomy and astrology, he had mastered grammar, calligraphy, poetry, rhetorics, dialectics and arithmetic, he knew the whole system of religion; he had a wide knowledge of everything contained in the books, as well as of the customs, the manners, the economy, the history, and the geography of the Tibetan countries. Besides teaching him through *shruti*, Sangye Phuntsog wrote small compendia for his pupil, and whenever he himself could not satisfy Csoma's curiosity, he asked other famous lama-scholars of Zanskar to satisfy the *faringi* (foreign) student. Some of the question-answer books are still preserved in the monasteries of Ladakh as part of the bequest of Csoma, and A.H. Francke, the great

Tibetologist has compared them to the *Milindapañha*. Until recently the set used by Csoma remained closed in the collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. But in 1977, in co-operation with the International Academy of Indian Culture, these books were published in Delhi.

Csoma and the Asiatic Society of Bengal : In 1831 Csoma walked to Calcutta and presented all the papers he had compiled in the hills to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which had sponsored his researches since 1824 by giving him a monthly stipend of fifty rupees.

His two most famous books, a Dictionary and a Grammar of the Tibetan language were printed in 1834. According to the epitaph on his tomb-stone, erected by the Asiatic Society, these are his best and real monuments. All later works on Tibetan lexicography and grammar by scholars like I. J. Schmidt, S. Chandra Das, H. A. Jaschke and others are based on these pioneering works. Both of them remained in use upto now, reprinted several times in the 1970-s in India and in England as well.

His other two great works are less known but are of a similar significance for Sanskrit and Buddhist studies. The first is an edition and English rendering of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist terminological dictionary called *Mahāvyutpatti* which originates from the 3rd-4th centuries A.D.—the other work was a catalogue and survey of the Buddhist Tripitaka in Tibetan. This work, published in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1834 and translated into French in 1881, has given first an idea of the various branches of Sanskrit Buddhist literature as well, which has been lost in great extent in India.

If we leaf through the volumes of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* of those years, we will find in almost all of them some article or other by Csoma. They are all of basic importance. Their subject-matter includes questions of Buddhist philosophy, literature and history, questions of grammar, lexicography, anthropology and many other topics. Most of the papers were reprinted already in 1911 in

Calcutta, and another smaller collection in 1957 in Calcutta. A summary of the contents was given by Th. Duka in his biography of Csoma, which was published in English and Hungarian in 1885".¹¹

SARAT CHANDRA DAS (1849-1917)

About seven years after the death of Csoma was born in Chittagang another remarkable man, who eventually earned the honour of being one of the greatest Tibetologists of modern times, though he came to Tibetan studies by another route altogether, and, at least in the earlier part of his career, was completely unaware of Csoma's works. Sarat Chandra Das, for all that we know of him, became acquainted with Csoma's works only in the mature period of his life, when Das himself was already famous as a Tibetan scholar.

How he was drawn to Tibetan studies is perhaps best retold in his own words :

"In March 1874, when I was preparing to graduate myself in Civil Engineering, at the Presidency College, Calcutta, I fell ill of malarial fever. About this time, the offer of an appointment as Headmaster of the proposed Bhutea Boarding School at Darjeeling, came to me from Prof. C. B. Clarke, M.A., the great Botanist, who then happened to be Inspector of Schools in the Rajshahi Division. At first I declined the offer. When I spoke of it to Nabinchandra, he said, 'Brother, you ought to have accepted the appointment. In refusing it you have lost an opportunity of recruiting your health by residence at Darjeeling, during the approaching summer'. He begged me to see Prof. Clarke immediately, which I did, and secured the appointment.

Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Edgar, the then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, having approved of my appointment, I set out for Darjeeling on the fourth of April. At Sahebgunge, on the E.I.Rly., I took the ferry steamer to

11. Bethlenfalvy G., *India in Hungarian Learning and Literature*, New Delhi 1980, pp. 7-11

Karagola Ghat where I engaged a bullock cart to take me to Silliguri via Purnea town, Krishnagunge and Titalia in the Purnea district. From Silliguri I walked to Kalabari on the old pony-road to Kurseong. While clambering up the hill above Kalabari, I saw a paharia woman with a child in her lap; riding on a pony. On reaching Kurseong I hired a pony and rode to Darjeeling. This was my first venture on horse back. I reported my arrival to the Deputy Commissioner on the 10th of April, 1874.

I was now in the 25th year of my age. Mr. Edgar told me that it was the intention of Government to establish a Boarding School for giving English education to the Kumar (now His Highness the Maharaja) of Independent Sikkim and to the sons of the chiefs and Kazis who would accompany him, and also to train up some interpreters. He had previously secured the services of a young Lama named Ygyen-gya-tsho from the monastery of Pema-yang-tse, in Sikkim, to assist me in the school work. I wrote to the late Maharaja Kusho Sridkyong Namgyal to send his son the Knmar and also to the chief Kazis of Sikkim to send their sons for education under my care. I also collected a few Bhutea lads from the neighbourhood of Darjeeling and started the Boarding School. Not being acquainted with the Bhutea dialect, we had, at the outset, to speak by signs. In the course of a few weeks I picked up a little of the Bhutea colloquial. The boys, also, learnt a few Hindustani words of common use. I then commenced my study of the Tibetan language, of which the Bhutea spoken at Darjeeling and in Sikkim was a dialect, the Lama reading both Tibetan and English with me.”¹²

That is how Das started learning the Tibetan language. It is somewhat interesting to note that the maker of the stupendous *Tibetan-English Dictionary* was thrilled by his first acquaintance with Tibetan words, and to know that the name Darjeeing is actually a word of Tibetan origin meaning *Vajra-bhūmi* (*rDo-rje=vajra* and *ling=land or island*) and so also is *Kāñchanjungā*, literally “the five snowy repositories”.

12. Das S. C., *Autobiography*, Reprinted Calcutta 1969, pp. 13-14.

But he had surely considerable linguistic aptitude and he developed an absorbing interest in Tibetan literature.

Within a year, much to his amazement, he also realised the importance of Tibetan studies for understanding a very significant aspect of the Indian cultural heritage. About a year after joining the Darjeeling school, as he said in his *Autobiography*, "when I began to enter deeper in the study of written language I was struck with the richness of its literature and the regularity of its structure which was wholly based upon Sanskrit. The names of places and individuals in Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan were Indian in signification. For example the very common names of individuals such as *Dorje* (rDo-rje) means Vajra; *Tandin* (rTa-mgrin)—Hayagrīva; *Dolma* ('Grol-ma)—Tārā; *Norbu* (Nor-bu)—Ratna; *Dondub* (Don-grub)—Siddhārtha; *Nima* (Ni-ma)—Sūrya or sun; *Dao* (Zla-ba)—Candra or moon; *yanchan* (dByaṇs-can)—Sarasvatī; *Lhamo* (Lha-mo)—Devī; *Samdub-phug* (bSam-'grub-phug)—Siddha Kalpa Guhā, etc. The Tibetans, in early times, had translated almost all the *Mahāyāna* Sanskrit works in their language. Those that were attributed to Buddha and called *Buddha-vacana* were collected together in 108 volumes which forms the scriptural Cyclopaedia of the *Kahgyur* (bKa'-gyur). The translation of the *Śāstra* comprising the commentaries and other works of Sanskrit authors both Buddhist and Brahmanical formed the Second Cyclopaedia called the Tanjur (bsTan.-gyur".¹³

Here, thus, we see the interest and discovery of the two great pioneers of modern Tibetan Studies actually converging—one coming from the distant land in quest of the lineage of the Szekelys and Hungarians and the other a school-master required to give some English education to the prince and *Kazis* of Sikkim. The converging point of their interest and discovery actually opened for the historians—specially for the historians of Buddhism in India, Tibet and Mongolia

13. *Ibid*, p. 16.

—a new horizon unknown and even unsuspected so far in the world of modern scholarship.

The external events of the life of Sarat Chandra Das are rather well-known. He visited Tibet twice—first in 1879 and then in 1881; in 1884 he accompanied Macaulay to Sikkim, in 1885 he visited Peking and in 1915 he visited Japan. The full story of diplomatic purposes he served for the British Government yet forms the subject of more intensive research, as are perhaps also the cases of Nain Singh who, visited Tibet in 1863 and of Kishen Singh who went to Tibet in 1830—both supported by the British Government and therefore presumably to serve the Government purposes in some form or other. Understandably, Sarat Chandra Das had to avoid reference to this aspect of his activities both in his brief *Autobiography* published in the *Modern Review* 1908 09, as well as in his *Narrative of Journey to Lhasa and Tibet*, originally published by the Royal Geographical Society in 1902 (published again by James Murray in 1904 and its Russian translation also published in the same year in St. Petersburg).

What interests us for our present study is not the political career of Sarat Chandra Das but what he bequeathed to Tibetan Studies or more broadly to the world of scholarship.

LIST OF WORKS OF SARAT CHANDRA DAS

We are grateful to Shri Sibadas Chaudhuri, Librarian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for the hard labour he has put in preparing the *Bibliography of Tibetan Studies* (Being a Record of printed publications mainly in European languages), published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Here are the entries we read in it under Das (Sarat Chandra) which should give us some idea of the wide interest combined with astonishing scholarship that Das actually had, though it needs to be added that the following list excludes the texts edited and published by Das in Tibetan language :

DAS (SARAT CHANDRA)

295. Contribution on the religion, history, etc., of Tibet, 1881

- (i) The Bon (Pon) religion (p. 187)
- (ii) Dispute between a Buddhist and a Bonpo Priest for the possession of Mount Kailāsa and the Lake Mānasā (p. 206)
- (iii) Early history of Tibet (p. 211)
Tibet in the Middle Ages (p. 235)
J. A. S. B., L. (1), 187, 206, 211 and 235
- 296. Contribution on the religion, history, etc., of Tibet, 1882
 - (iv) Rise and progress of Buddhism in Tibet (p. 1)
 - (v) The lives of Panchhen-Rinpoches, or Tasi Lamas (with 14 plates) : Part 1 The Indian incarnations (p. 15) Part 2. The six Tibetan incarnations (p. 18)
 - (vi) The life and legend of Tsōn Khapa (Lossan-tagpa) : the greatest Buddhist Reformer of Tibet (p. 53)
 - (vii) Rise and progress of Buddhism in Mongolia (Hor) (p. 58)
 - (viii) Rise and progress of Jin Buddhism in China (p. 87)
 - (ix) Ancient China, its sacred literature, philosophy and religion as known to the Tibetans (p. 99)
 - (x) Life and legend of Nāgā-juna (p. 115)
 - (xi) Detached notices of the different Buddhist Schools of Tibet (p. 121)
 J.A.S.B., L1 (1), 1, 15, 18, 53, 58, 87, 99, 115 and 121
- 297. The Tibetan chronological table (Rehumig) from the MSS original work, Choos-Joong Jonsang, 1886, P.A.S.B., 132.
- 298. A brief account of Tibet from 'Dsam Ling Gyeshe', the well-known geographical work of Lama Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo (translated), 1887, J.A.S.B., LVI (1), 1, and P.A.S.B., 7.
- 299. The sacred and ornamental characters of Tibet, 1888
J.A.S.B. LVII (1) 41
- 300. Life of Sumpa Khan-po, also styled Yeses-dpal-hbyor, the author of the Rehumig (chronological table) 1889
J.A.S.B., LVIII (1), 37
- 301. A descriptive account of Tibetan Zodiac, 1890 P.A.S.B., 2.
- 302. The origin of the Tibetans, 1892 P.A.S.B., 84

303. Marriage customs in Tibet, 1893, J.A.S.B., LXII (1), 6 and J.R.A.S., N.S., XXIII, 228
304. Indian Pundits in the Land of the Snow; ed. by N. C. Das, Calcutta 1893
305. Indian Pundits in Tibet, 1893. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., I(1), 1-31
306. The lamaic hierarchy of Tibet, 1893. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., I(2), 31, (2) 44.
307. Bodhi Pathapradipa, or Byañ-chub-lam-gyi-sgron-ma, 1893. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., I, 39
308. A brief sketch of the Bon-po religion of Tibet, 1893. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., I (App.), 1.
309. Daily Religious Service in the Grand Monastery of Tashi-Lhunpo. 1893. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., I(4) 13
339. (a) The principal deities of the Bon Pantheon, 1893, Jour. Budd. Text Soc., I (3/app. 1) 1
309. (b) Die tibetanischen Forschungen, 1893, Globus, LXIV, 297-8
310. Tibetan jails and criminal punishments, 1894. P.A.S.B., 5
311. (a) A brief summary of the Do Ka Zang, the Sūtra of the glorious age, 1895. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., Suppl. III.
311. (b) On the picture of a Tibetan wizard, 1895. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., III (3) vii.
311. (c) On a Tibetan picture, illustrating the doctrine of rebirth in the Buddhist Cosmorama, 1895. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., III (3), iv.
311. (d) On the use of the Ru-gyan or bone-ornaments, 1895, Jour. Budd. Text Soc., III (3), vi.
311. (e) A sketch of Buddhist ontology and the doctrine of Nirvāṇa of the Mahāyāna School of Tibet—explanation of the Bhava Chakra, 1895. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., III(1), 11
311. (f) The origin of mankind compiled from the legendary history of Tibet, 1896, Jour. Budd. Text Soc., IV (2), 3
311. (g) Description of a Tibetan funeral, 1897. Jour. Budd.

- Text Soc., V(2). 1.
311. (h) A short note on the origin of the Tibetans and their division into clans, 1897. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., V (1), 1.
312. A note on the antiquity of Chittagong, compiled from the Tibetan work Pagsam Jon-zañ of Sumpa Khan-po and Kahbab Dun-dan of Lama Tāranāth, 1898. J.A.S.B. LXVII(1), 20
313. A note on the identity of the great Tsang-po of Tibet with the Dihong, 1898. J.A.S.B., LXVII (1), 126
314. (a) Yig Kur nam Shag. Being a collection of letters, both official and private and illustrating the different forms of correspondence used in Tibet. Edited. Calcutta, 1901.
314. (b) Kah Bab Dun dan, the book of the seven mystic revelations, containing the history of the state of Buddhism in India from the tenth century A.D. to the reign of Akbar, compiled by Lama Tāranāth Kun Dgah Sñiñ-Po..., edited. Calcutta 1901
314. (c) Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet; edited by W. W. Rockhill. London, 1902. (New edition 1904)
314. (d) A sketch of the Tibetan character, 1898. Jour Budd. Text and Anthr. Soc., VI (4), 1.
314. (e) How I crossed the Jon-Tsang La Pass over 21,000 feet in the Kang-Chan Junga range. (Extracts from the narrative of a journey to Tashi-lhunpo in 1879). 1902. Jour. Budd. Text and Anthr. Soc., VII (1), 1.
314. (f) Residence at Tashi-lhunpo, 1902. Jour. Budd. Text and Anthr. Soc., VII (2), 1.
314. (g) A Tibetan Prince (Lha Lama Yeshe Hod) and Mahmud of Ghazni, 1902. Indian World, X. 98
314. (h) Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Sanskrit synonyms, revised and edited by G. Sandberg and A. W. Heyde. Calcutta, 1902
314. (i) The hierarchy of the Dalai Lama, 1406-1745, 1904. J.A.S.B., LXXIII (1), Ext. 80.

314. (j) Tibet under the Tartar Emperors of China in the thirteenth century A.D., 1904. J.A.S.B., LXXIII (1) Ext. 94
314. (k) Putesestvie v Tibet. Perevod s anglij-kogo pod redakcijju V. Kotvica. St. Petersbourg, 1904
314. (l) Re se nach Tibet, 1904. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., VII (3), 57.
314. (m) The real trade-route to Tibet, from Assam to Bathang, 1904. Jour. Budd. Text soc., VII (3), 12
314. (n) The foundation of Lha'ssa and its two great shrines. 1904. Buddhism (Rangoon). I, 575
314. (o) A short note on the origin and use of the Panshwa (Pandit's cap) by the Lamas of Tibet, 1904. Jour. Budd. Text Soc., VII (4), 2
314. (p) The monastic university of Tashi-lhunpo in Tibet, 1904. Jour Budd. Text Soc., VII (4), 22
315. Monasteries of Tibet, 1905. J.A.S.B., N.S.I, 106
316. A short history of the house of Phagdu, which ruled over Tibet on the decline of the Sakya till A.D., 1432, 1905 J.A.S B., N.S I, 202
317. Tibet—a dependency of Mongolia, 1905, J. A. S. B., N. S. I, 152
318. Tibet under her last kings, A.D. 1434-1642, 1905. J. A.S. B., N.S.I, 165
319. The origin of mankind (according to Lamaist Mythology), 1906, J.A.S B., N.S.II, 10.
320. (a) Introduction of written languages in Mongolia in the thirteenth century, 1907, J A.S B., N.S.III 109
320. (b) Notices of Orissa in the Early Records of Tibet, 1907. J A.S B., N.S III, 221
321. On the Kāla Cakra system of Buddhism which originated in Orissa, 1907. J.A S.B., N.S.III, 225
322. History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, Calcutta 1908
323. An introduction to the grammar of the Tibetan language, with the texts of Situhl, Sum-r Tags, Dag-je, Salwai, Me-long and Situhl Shal-lun. Darjeeling 1915.

* * *

When later scholars with improved academic tools look back at the works of the pioneers they naturally feel the need of introducing into these many amendments, revisions and corrections. The need is also often felt for replacing many of their hypotheses in favour of sounder ones. Before passing on to mention some of these—specially that require to be noted in the essays selected for the present collection—we may as well note the main dimensions of Das' contributions that adds to his stature as pioneer in modern Tibetan Studies, and which moreover has guided us in selecting the studies included in the present volume. We quote A. I. Vostrikov who has put special emphasis on this :

“Though the works of Sarat Chandra Das, as we shall see later, suffer from many errors and inaccuracies we cannot and must not forget that it is precisely to him that the world of Tibetology is indebted for its first familiarity with the contents of a number of important historical texts which heretofore were totally unknown or were known only by title. And in this lies his great and indisputable service to scholarship. Even till today, many texts used by S. C. Das (often without naming them) remain unpublished, untranslated and uninvestigated. The most outstanding work of S.C. Das in the field of Tibetan historiography is the publication of the first two parts of the Tibetan text of *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan* [often mentioned by the way in which it is pronounced as *Pag Sam Jon Zang*] : Part-I—History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India; Part-II—History of Tibet from Early Times to A.D. 1745, by Sum-pa Khan-po Ye-ses dPal 'Byor, Calcutta 1908. He also published an interesting Bon chronicle *rGyal-rabs Bon-kyi-'byun gnas*, ed. Sri Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1915, and some other texts. Besides, he published a number of articles on Tibetan history which mostly are simple translations or adaptations of Tibetan sources.”¹⁴

14. Vostrikov, A. I., *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Translated from the Russian by H. C. Gupta. Calcutta 1970, p. 7 note.

To this is of course to be added the stupendous work of S. C. Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (with Sanskrit synonyms) which, as edited by G. Sandberg and A. W. Heyde was published in 1902, by the Bengal Secretariat Book Dept., Calcutta. Incidentally, it is somewhat surprising to note that the title-page of the *Dictionary* does not mention Professor (later Mahāmahopādhyāya) Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, whose contributions to the *Dictionary* was undoubtedly substantial. In any case, Das' *Dictionary* is invaluable inasmuch as it is difficult to think of any serious Tibetologist working today without being equipped with it.

But let us return to Sarat Chandra Das' contribution to historical studies on which we have concentrated in the present volume.

We shall begin with a few words on Sum-pa's work, which, as we have just seen, Sarat Chandra Das was the first to present to the world of modern scholarship as printed and published in modern form. Besides, a number of articles by Das included in the present collection are intended to be translations from Sum-pa's chapters or at least adaptations from such chapters. These articles are :

1. *Tibet a Dependency of Mongolia* (JASB, 1905)
2. *Tibet under her last kings* (JASB, 1905)
3. *The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama* (JASB 1904)
4. *The Monasteries of Tibet* (JASB. 1905)

Further, a number of articles written by Das, though not included in the present collection are also based on Sum-pa's work. The most prominent of these is *Life of Sum-pa Khan po, also styled Ye-ses dPal-'byor, the author of the Re'umig (Chronological Table)*, JASB 1889. It may moreover be noted that, evidently for the benefit of the English knowing readers, Das added to the Tibetan edition of Sum-pa's book an *Index* and *A Table of Contents*, on which the modern historians—specially the historians of eastern India—have very heavily depended. As a result, Sum-pa's authority has acquired a great deal of importance for our modern scholars, and is perhaps comparable only to that of Tāranātha, another outstanding Tibetan

historian of Buddhism in India whose work was first translated into Russian by V. P. Vasil'ev and then into German by A. Schiesner (both St. Petersburg, 1869), though in recent years it is also published in English translation.

In view of the importance of Sum-pa's work and the extensive use by the modern scholars of Das' *Index* and *Contents* of it, we originally thought of including these in the present collection along with Das' translation of Sum-pa's *Chronological Table*, though we shall presently explain the reasons for our going in favour of an alternative idea. But let us first have a few words on Sum-pa's work itself.

In Tibetan, the full title of the work is '*Phags-yul-rgya-rag-chen-po-bod-dan-sog-yul-du-dam-pal'i-chos-byun-tshul-dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*', which means, the auspicious wish-yielding tree of the account of the origin of the Doctrine (*i.e.* Buddhism) in Āryadeśa (India), Mahā-chīna Tibet and other countries. The abbreviated title by which it is usually referred to is *dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, meaning the auspicious wish-yielding tree. The full name of the author is Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-'byor (1704-1788)—Sum-pa having been his family name and *ye-śes-dpal-'byor*, the equivalent of Sanskrit *jñāna-śriyukta*, was the name he received while being ordained.

Here in brief, is the main contents of his work : "The first part contains a general introduction and recounts the history of Buddhism in India. The second part expounds the secular and ecclesiastical history of Tibet. The third part briefly deals with the history of China and of Buddhism in China. The fourth part is a short account of the history of the Mongols and of the history of the spread of Buddhism among them. The account of the history of Tibet ends with the Chronological Table. To the history of the Mongols are appended the genealogical tables of the descendants of Genghis (Chinghiz), the Dsungar princes Gushi (Gu-sri) khan and Ho-urruk".¹⁵

Das' printed edition of the book contains mainly first two

15. *Ib.* p. 152.

parts though, as already mentioned, certain other parts of the book are used by him in a number of journal articles. By far the most important part of Sum-pa's work missing in this printed edition, however, is *The Chronological Table*, which is really an invaluable source for the historians of Tibet as well as of India. But Das' reason for omitting this in the Tibetan reprint of the book is perhaps not difficult to guess. Evidently conscious of its importance as a historical document, he perhaps thought of using it separately, and, for the benefit of scholars without the knowledge of Tibetan language, in English translation. This he did and it appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1889 (pp. 37-84) with the title *Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, also styled Ye-ses-dpal-hbyor, the author of the Re'humig (Chronological Table)*.

Though extremely keen on including this in the present collection, we were prevented from doing it because of a serious consideration. Rather than helping the modern scholars, Das' translation of the *Chronological Table* contains the risk of creating confusion among them, as it has already done to a certain extent. The reason for this is best explained by A. I. Vostrikov. After reviewing the *Re'u-mig* of 'Jam-dbyaṇ-bshad-pa (1648-1722), Vostrikov observes.

"A still more complete chronological work is the table included in the frequently quoted work of the well-known Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-ses-dpal-'byor on the history of Buddhism. This table occupies 12 folios of large format. Besides, one folio in the beginning gives a short exposition of the events prior to the Tibetan era (i.e. up to A.D. 1027) and the three folios in the end contain critical comments on the chronology followed in other Tibetan historical texts. This table begins from A.D. 1027 and ends at A.D. 1746, i.e. covers full twelve cycles (*rab-byuñ-s*). The text of this table has not been published so far. It was, however, translated—individually of each other—by Academician V. P. Vasil'ev and S. C. Das. The translation made by V. P. Vasil'ev was not published. As regards S. C. Das, he published his translation in an article entitled *Life of Sum-pa-khan-po, also styled Ye-ses-*

dpal-'byor, the author of the Re'umig (Chronological Table), but this translation is absolutely unsatisfactory. Even limiting himself to a translation of the actual tables only without the introductory and concluding parts, S. C. Das accomplished this task very negligently. Despite the fact that the original text correctly gives the names of the years every time they occur, S. C. Das found it possible to do away with them and was satisfied with his own conversion of these into the European calendar. Not only that the conversions made by him are not correct even from the general principle which he followed in this regard; he has also digressed from these principles for no reasons whatsoever. Following Csoma de Körös and E. Schlagintweit, S. C. Das regarded the first year of the Tibetan era as 1026 instead of 1027 and therefore, as correctly shown by Prof. P. Pelliot, all the dates cited by S. C. Das should be advanced by one year for obtaining the true dates. But even without comparing the true dates with those mentioned by S. C. Das after conversion, P. Pelliot has pointed out a case when S. C. Das digressed from the actual date not by one but by two years. In fact, there are several such cases in the conversions made by S. C. Das. In particular, the events which he has dated to the years between 1225 and 1253 (yearwise) actually happened from 1227 to 1255. In the same way, the events marked 1269 and 1270 respectively actually took place in 1271 and 1272 etc. The events which, in the original text, are shown to have taken place in the same year, have been ascribed by S. C. Das to different years, and *vice versa*. But the matter does not end at these chronological errors only. A considerable portion of the information available in the original text is totally omitted by S. C. Das. In certain cases, S. C. Das translates only half the sentence and omits the remaining part. What is stated in the original as a hypothesis or as the view of someone else, of the authenticity of which the author is not quite sure, appears, in the translation of S. C. Das, as a categorical statement of the author. Numerous references by the original authors to the views of other historians are almost invariably omitted by S. C. Das.

Finally, in certain cases, even the very facts stated in the text have been distorted by S. C. Das beyond identification. Two names of the same person have been shown by S. C. Das as those of two different persons and, on the other hand, the names of two different persons have been turned into those of the same person etc. It is no use enumerating and rectifying all the defects of the translation of S. C. Das. It is simply necessary to make a fresh translation of the entire text of the chronological table of Sum-pa-mkhan-po. When the original text is available, it is better not to use at all the translation of S. C. Das as it lacks the necessary critical apparatus and does not identify the proper names included. Without the original text, on the other hand, it is risky to use this translation because it is full of errors.

"S. C. Das prefaced his translation of the chronological table with a short biography of its author, Sum-pa-mkhan-po, without, in any way, specifying the sources on which this biography is based. As rightly remarked by Prof. P. Pelliot, S. C. Das errs in this biography too. The date of birth of the author as given in this biography (in European calendar) is different from that given in the text of the chronological table. In his tables, the date of birth of Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-ses-dpal-'byor is given as 1702-1703 and in the biography, it is shown as 1702, whereas actually, it is 1704. This error can, however, be easily rectified as S. C. Das gives here the number of the cycle and the name of the year in Tibetan calendar—the Wood-Monkey year of the 12th cycle, corresponding to A.D. 1704. It is much more difficult to verify the remaining dates given in this biography as S. C. Das does not give the Tibetan names of the years. Nonetheless, some of these dates are certainly to be rectified—particularly the date of death of Sum-pa-mkhan.po Ye-ses-dpal-'byor. S. C. Das simply states that Sum-pa-mkhan-po died at the age of 63 whereas he actually died in 1788 (Earth-Monkey year of the 13th cycle), i.e. in the 85th year of his life. In 1782 (Water-Tiger year of the 13th cycle), he compiled his critical and bibliographical work *gSun-rab-rnam-dag-chu'i-dri-ma-sel-byed-nor-bu-ke-*

ta-ka."¹⁶

Some of the expressions used by Vostrikov may appear to us to be rather harsh, though understandably in strict academic interest. But the fact is that Sum-pa's *Chronological Table*, as we have it in the translation of S.C. Das, is in need of very serious revision. The same is true of the *Contents* of Sum-pa's work given by Das in English translation, specially when it comes to the question of the conversion of the dates into European calender from their Tibetan form.

We have mentioned this mainly to emphasise one point. Das was a pioneer in modern Tibetan studies and undoubtedly one of the greatest of them. The academic equipments with which he had to work had their own limitation. The Tibeto-logists today are equipped with vastly improved academic tools. Would they not move forward to revise Das' translation of the *Chronological Table* as well as the English contents of Sum-pa's work prepared by Das? When they do these, they would certainly render invaluable service not only to the historians of Tibet, China and Mongolia but also to the historians of India, specially of Indian Buddhism.

It may be added here that one of the formidable difficulties about such a project—the difficulty namely of obtaining a dependable copy of Sum-pa's original work—is now removed. Thanks to the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, we now have before us the Tibetan edition of Sum-pa's work, edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra, with a Foreword by G. Tucci and a Preface by L. Petech.

There remains for us only to add another point about the present collection. As is rather well-known, Tibetan words as written often widely differ from the way in which these are pronounced. During the time of the pioneers in Tibetan studies, much remained to be desired in standardising the ways of transcribing Tibetan words in Roman characters. Sarat Chandra Das, generally speaking, used the Tibetan words in Roman characters according to the way in which these are pronounced. This creates difficulties for the modern

students, specially when they want to trace the words in the standard dictionaries, in which the words occur as written. At the same time, it would have meant taking a great deal of liberty with Sarat Chandra Das' writings if we wanted to change the form in which he preferred to use the Tibetan words. What, then, was to be done ?

The way in which we have tried to solve the problem is as follows. While reprinting his writings, we have generally retained the Tibetan words in the form in which Das actually used these. However, while giving the words in the *Index*, we have used for the more important entries the form in which these are actually written, and this after their Romanised spellings as occurring in Das' own writings. Besides some of the major errors in his writings are pointed to in the *Index*.

Lastly, a few words on acknowledgement. Since the first inception of the idea of the present volume, I had to depend on my husband Debiprasad practically at every step of its actual execution, perhaps conveniently overlooking the fact that he has his own pressing academic commitments. I am also indebted to my daughter Aditi who, notwithstanding the time required for her own studies and various domestic duties, never grudged the drudgery of helping me in matters of proof-reading. I am thankful to Srimati Sujata Bedajna for her help in preparing the *Index*.

ALAKA CHATTOPADHYAYA

Calcutta

**TIBETAN
STUDIES**

SARAT CHANDRA DAS

THE BON (PON) RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

Lama Je-tsun-lossan CHHOIKYI-ÑIMA pal Ssañpo is the author of the well-known work *Dub-thah leg-shad sel-kyi melon*, which contains short accounts of the various religious systems in ancient India, Tibet, Mongolia and China.¹ The first Lama whose avowed incarnation he is believed to have been was named Chhoikyi wañ-chhyug, whose high dignity was recognised by the Emperor of China, by letters patent and the presentation of a golden tablet,² and who was famous for his knowledge of metaphysics and vyākaraña and did greatly enhance the cause of Buddhism. Our author was born, agreeably to a certain prophecy, at Pah-ri in Amdo, in the year fire-serpent of the 12th Cycle, i.e. 1674 A.D. and died in the year 1740 A.D. In his boyhood he gave many striking proofs of his powerful intellect. Being a divine personage, he easily acquired proficiency in the several branches of Buddhist sacred literature. After taking the vows of monkhood, he

1. The *Dub-thah selkyi Melon* (*grub-mthah sel-kyi me-lon*) contains 12 books. I have made a literal translation of the 8th and 11th books which treat of the Bon religion and the rise and progress of Buddhism in Mongolia. My translations of the 9th and 10th books (on Ancient and Medieval China) are almost literal. All Tibetan names are spelt as pronounced, except those in the lists of the Bon Religious Works, which are spelt as written. In Bon the *b* is pronounced as *p* (Pon).

2. In the history of Tibet and the lives of Lamas many accounts of presentation of seals and tablets will be found. The custom of presenting seals and tablets and letters patent is still in vogue in Tibet and China. The use of seals by different dependencies of China and Tibet is very carefully watched by the Government of those countries. A change of official seals generally signifies a change of vassalage. Tablets, like diplomas and letters patent, are given to establish a new ruler or governor in power.

studied the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s under many eminent Lamas, such as Chaṇkyā Rolpa'i Dorje, the spiritual guide of the Emperor Kuenlang (Chhin-lun). On his reaching the proper age he was placed at the head of the Jam-vyan monastery on the Thi or throne of his predecessors. During his presidency more than 3000 monks used to congregate in the monastery for service. He visited Central Tibet, Tsān and Sakya, and spent a few years at the Dapuṇi monastery in order to prosecute religious studies. Returning to his native country, after a study of seven years, he displayed great learning in metaphysics and vyākaraṇa. At this time he propitiated the gods Hayagrīva, Dorje Phagmo, and others of his tutelary deities. He also propitiated the goddess Paldan Lhamo (Kālī of the Hindus) who enabled him, it is said, to render good service to Buddhism. Many Mongolian princes and chiefs became his friends and spiritual pupils, by whose assistance he established five religious institutions. He resided in Pekin for more than three years, in order to collect information respecting the various schools of religion which then existed in China, and the ancient ones that had died away. He also carefully studied the national laws and statutes of China from ancient records, and thereby made himself famous. The Emperor conferred on him marks of honour and dignity greater than any that had been enjoyed by his predecessors. He also presented him his own robes, which contained one hundred and eight dragons worked in gold, together with a hundred thousand crowns of silver. The Mongolian princes also, who evinced great faith in his saintliness, made him immense presents. On his return to Amdo, all the chiefs and princes of Mongolia and western China advanced to a distance of six days' journey from the town to pay him homage. Among these princes, the Khan of Lanju and the Viceroy of Tsun-tu-fu were very well-known. On his arrival at the monastery the Lamas and monks of the thirteen great monasteries of Amdo made him presents, according to their means and resources. From that time, for a period of twelve years, he devoted himself to the affairs of the monastery and to *yoga*,

after which he attained to the "marvellous state of the gods." At the age of 66, on the 10th of the Lunar month, his person being contracted to a cubit's length, he returned to the land of the blessed. He had finished his work called *Dub-thah selkyi melon* about a week before his death, which occurred in 1740 A.D.

The following are his principal works :

- (1) The Legendary biography of Lama Jam-vyañ of Gu than, in 2 Vols.
- (2) The Legendary biography of his predecessors, in one Vol.
- (3) Hymns and Songs.
- (4) On the worship of Hayagrīva or "Taden", in 2 Vols.
- (5) „ „ Nāro kha-choimo (a goddess), in 2 Vols.
- (6) On the worship of Dorje Phagmo, in 2 Vols.
- (7) On Mathematics (Chronology, Arithmetic and Astrology), in one Vol.
- (8) On Medicine, in one Vol.
- (9) On the method of constructing *cāitya-s*, sacred pictures and images, in one Vol.
- (10) On rhetoric, words and versification; *stotra-s* in two Vols.
- (11) About the history and theories of the reformed, or Gelugpa, school, in 5 Vols.

8TH BOOK OF *DUB-TAH SELKYI MELOÑ*

TRANSLATION

In Bon *Grantha-s* it is said that in the present Kalpa, from the time when the duration of human life was immeasurable till it dwindled to ten years, there are eighteen divine manifestations (teachers), counting from Kun-tu-ssañ-po, the chief Bon god to Than-ma-medon. Of these teachers, the one

who is called Śen-rab and is said to have appeared when the length of human life diminished to one hundred years, is the reigning Bon god. He was born at Holmo Lunriñ (or "long valley"), in the country of Shañshuñ.³ Some authors conjecture that he, being a miraculous incarnation of Buddha, was contemporaneous with our teacher (Śākyā Simha).

According to the *Vaidūrya Karpo*,⁴ Buddha, with a view to the moral improvement of the Bonpo, became incarnate as Śen-rab-mipo⁵ in the country of Shañ-shuñ. He observed the twelve acts of the Bon *Dharma* and taught the nine series of *yāna*-s (vehicles of knowledge), opened the door of the gods (heaven) for those alive, and shut the entrance of the graves of the dead, and committed the living to the path of *svastika* (yūn-druñ).⁶ He possessed such powers as foreknowledge, and was able to perform miracles, &c. Moreover having visited various places of Bon pilgrimage in Tibet on the east of the monastery of Pu-chhu-lha-khan in Kañ-yul, Nañ-ser-khan-tse on the site of which was established the monastery of Nañ-ritva-tshañ, the hill called Rin-chhen puñ-pa, &c., he subdued many earthly demons and evil spirits, all of whom he bound under solemn oaths. He explained the four ways of Bon *svastika* and *skandha* and the five repositories of sacred scriptures. Among his spiritual descendants, there were the six who bore the surname of Mu-tsho and Dem, the Persian sage named Mu-tsho-tra-he-si, The-thon-par-tsam, Guhi-li-barma, the Indian

3. Shañ-shuñ is the part of Tibet, now called Guge and Knaor or upper Besahr.

4. *Vaidūrya Karpo*, meaning the White Lapis Lazuli, is the name of a historical and chronological work of great repute, composed by the illustrious Regent of Lhasa, Desi Sange, in the 17th century.

5. The word Ś'en means god, Rab means excellent, hence Ś'en rab means excellent god; Mipo, human.

6. The *Svastika* emblem of the *Bonpo* is similar to that of the Buddhists, from which it only differs in direction; for Bon-kor or the Bonpo manner of circumambulation round a shrine or deity is from right to left, while the Chhoi-kor or the Buddhist manner of circumambulation is from left to right. The Bon religion is founded on the *Svastika mandala* which is called "Yūn-druñ".

Paṇḍit Deva Nātha surnamed Mantra-uṣma, the Chinese sage Leg-tan man, the learned Priest of Thom named Ser-dog-che-chyam, the Tibetan sage Dem-gyen-tsha-maṇ, Che tsha-gargu, the learned scholar of Mi-fiag (Burma), the erudite Mupan-san of the Sumpa country, and the sage S'er-pu-chhen of Shañ-shui; these and many other followers, carrying the doctrine to all quarters, diffused the Bon religion.

In Tibet the Bon religion presented itself as 1st, Jola-Bon; 2nd, Khyar-Bon; 3rd, Gyur-Bon.

1ST STAGE : JOLA BON

During the reign of king Thi-de-tsampo, the sixth in descent from Nah thi-tsampo, in the province of U', also called Shon-hon, a boy belonging to the family of Šen, at the age of thirteen, was kidnapped by a goblin, who took him to different places and mountains of Tibet and Kham. After rambling thirteen years with the goblin, the boy, fully instructed in demoniac crafts, being now twenty-six years of age, was returned to the society of men. He could point out the haunts of malicious spirits and goblins, and tell that such and such a demigod and demon lived in such and such a place, who committed mischief and good of this and that kind, and that they could be propitiated by a certain kind of worship and offering. He gave an account of different descriptions of "ye-tag" or mystical offerings.⁷ Twenty generations of Tibetan kings, from Nah-thi tsampo down to Thi-je-tsampo, are said to have followed no other religion than the Bon. It is evident that the first introduction of the Bon religion in Tibet was due to this man. However, the Bonpo of that age were skilled in witchcraft, the performance of mystical rites for suppressing evil spirits and cannibal hobgoblins of the nether region, the invocation of the venerable gods above, and the

7. They are prepared, like the masts of a ship, with stretched threads and ropes.

domestic ceremonies to appease the wrath of malignant spirits of the middle region (Earth) caused by the "pollution of the hearth."⁸ Besides these there did not then exist any other

8. Thab-den or "the ejecting of defilement from the hearth". In Tibet and its neighbourhood from time immemorial the defiling of the hearth by the overflowing of boiled milk, broth of meat, or of any other thing edible or useful (except water) from any utensil, is considered to be a great calamity which brings immense trouble to the owner. When a cook-house containing a hearth is so defiled, the owner must immediately cleanse it out; the ground which held the hearth should be dug out and thrown into water, in default of which the demons and the gods of the middle region, "Sa-dag" (or Nāgas), become annoyed and punish the owners or defilers with the disease of leprosy. In order to escape such punishment, that is, to be cured of leprosy, the patient goes to a male or female Bon priest in quest of a remedy. He requests him or her to examine his fortune; the priest of course attributes the disease to defiling of the hearth, and requests the patient to recollect the places where he ever cooked food or boiled anything. The names of all those places being given, the priest casts lots and finds out the right place and arranges for the ceremonies of cleansing the defiled hearth. Not all priests can claim to perform the ceremony, but the patient invites the priests of the country who assemble in an open place and cast lots to find out what particular priest would be acceptable to the "Sa-dag" for the purpose of officiating at the ceremony. The fortunate man being picked out, the service commences. He strictly abstains from the use of spirits and meat for the time being, as the "Sa-dag" are prejudiced against their use. The priest now invokes his tutelary deity called Kah-bab, and Thab-Iha the god of the hearth, who, by turns taking possession of his body, lead him to the particular spot where lies the defiled hearth. Arrived at the spot he plants his arrow-flag called "Dah-dar". As soon as this is finished, the spirits withdraw and the priest comes to his senses, when he inquires from those around him what inspired sayings he had given out. Being told every detail of the affair, he goes on to conduct the usual prescribed ceremonies. He or she (female priests are preferred) then in an authoritative tone summons the eight demi-gods (gods, nāgas, yakṣas, demons, genii, Pehar Gyalpo, mischievous female spirits called Mamos, and malignant planets such as the Indian Rāhu) and tells them—"I, according to the command of S'en-rab mipo the lord of the Bon religion, am conducting this ceremony. Ye all listen to what I say :—I shall just cleanse the polluted hearth of its defilement, in which work I exhort you all to help me. Wherefore be kind and merciful to me!" He now chants the usual mantras and conducts the ceremony.

theories or works concerning the Bon religion. In (some historical works such as) the Gyalrab and Chhoi-juñ the progress of the Bon religion is traced from the reign of king Digumtsanpo. This stage of the Bon religion is also called Gyu' Bon Chhabnag.⁹

2ND STAGE : KHYAR-BON

When king Digum tsnapo was assassinated, the Bon priests, not knowing how to conduct the funeral rites (so as to prevent

When the first part of the service is over, he invokes his own Kahbab, together with Thab-lha the god of the hearth, saying, "O Kahbab & c., my appointed friends and guardians, and ye hosts of ancestors, vouchsafe me your aid at this critical time. If I fail in my object, disgrace shall fall on me and also on you all who favour me!" He concludes his invocation by a threat, saying, "If you do not make me successful, I shall henceforth withhold the paying of reverence and offerings to you all". He then finishes the service by ordering a host of diggers to dig out the spot indicated, to the depth of about 8 or 10 feet. He briskly walks round the ditch, his heart beating with the fear of missing the ball hid in the polluted ground. When the proper moment arrives the Kahbab and Thab-lha by turns inspire him, when he throws himself into the bottom of the ditch in a senseless state and picks out the polluted ball. The Kahbab having immediately withdrawn, the priest regains his senses and produces the ball before all who remain present and breaks it to examine the contents. If a living or dead larva of an insect of any kind is found within it, the operation is considered successful, otherwise not. If the ball be empty, the leper's case is considered hopeless, since the devil, born as a larva within the defiled ground soon after the pollution of the hearth, and having got its wings, has fled towards the sky where he is out of reach. This indicates that a long time has elapsed since the defilement of the hearth. If a larva is found, it is immediately killed to ensure the cure of the leper. A dead larva inside the ball shows that the cure is at hand. The ball of earth is used as a charm against evil spirits. If the officiating priest fails to discover the defiled, the priest must be rewarded suitably. He generally claims the limbs and head of the sacrificial animal, be it a cow or a pig, together with a complete suit of wearing apparel, called Lu-gan. These rewards collectively are called Lygs-sol. Animal sacrifices form an important part in the religious observances of the Bonpo.

9. Or the original Bon of the dark valley, meaning dark age.

his spirit from doing mischief to the living), invited three Bon priests, one from Kashmir, a second from the Dusha country and a third from the country of Shañ-shuñ, to perform the "funeral of the stabbed". One of these priests propitiated Ge-god khyuñ and Me-lha the god of fire, and thereby was enabled to travel in the sky, mounted on a tambourine, and to discover mines. He could perform miraculous feats, such as cutting iron with the quills of birds, &c. Another priest was skilled in delivering oracles and telling fortunes by Julika and by deciphering mystic symbols on the fresh human shoulder-bone and thereby divining good and evil. The third priest was famed for his skill in conducting the funeral ceremonies of the dead, especially of those murdered with knives, &c.

Previous to the appearace of these Bon priests there existed no Bon religious theories. Since their time the Bon doctrines have come into existence. This stage of the Bon religion called Khyar-Bon (*i.e.*, erroneous Bon) was mixed up with the S'älva doctrine of the *Tirthika-s*.

THE 3RD STAGE : GYUR-BON

This is divided into three Sub-stages.

1ST SUB-STAGE .

An Indian Pandit, having profaned some sacred Buddhist Ācāra and having been charged with immorality, was expelled from his congregation. He went towards the north of Kashmir where, dressed in a blue gown, he proclaimed himself a great teacher. He wrote some heretical works, which he hid under the ground. After the lapse of a few years, he invited the public to witness the discovery by him of some ancient religious works. Thus a change was wrought in the Bon religion.

2ND SUB-STAGE : MIDDLE GYUR-BON

During the reign of king Thi-sron de-tsān, an edict was issued requiring all the Bonpos to renounce their faith and embrace Buddhism. The Minister Gyal-vai byai-chhub requested the Bon priest named Rinchhen chhog to adopt Buddhism, which he declined to do. Having been punished by the king for his obstinacy, he became greatly enraged, and, in company with some other Bonpos, secretly composed Bon scriptures by means of wholesale plagiarism from Buddhist canonical works. The king hearing that the excellent sayings of the Tathāgata had been converted into Bon scriptures, ordered the priests to be beheaded. Many of the Bonpos were thus killed; the rest secretly multiplied their works and, through fear, concealed them under rocks. Afterwards they brought out their religious books from the various hiding-places, in consequence of which those books are called Bon ter-ma, or "the hidden treasures of the Bonpo".

3RD SUB-STAGE : LAST GYUR-BON

Subsequent to the overthrow of Buddhism by Lañdarma, two Bon priests named Sen-gyur and Dar-yul dolag, from upper Ŋāñ in Tsāñ, sitting in a solitary cavern in U. consecrated as a place of Bon religion, altered many Buddhist works¹⁰ by using an orthography and terminology different from those of the Buddhists. These they concealed under the rock of Tsho-na deu-chhuñ. Afterwards they brought the hidden books to light as if they were accidental discoveries.

10. Yum gya-pa was converted into, and given the Bon name of, Khamchhen.

Ñi-Śn napa was converted into, and given the Bon name of, Kham-chhuñ.

Don-la bab-pa	„	„	„	„	„	Bondo.
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Ssuñ de-na	„	„	„	„	„	Lubum-kah.
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Afterwards Khyuñ-po and other Bon priests, in the same manner, converted other Buddhist works into Bon scriptures.

These three stages of Gyur-Bon, viz., the first, the middle and the last, are designated by the name of Chhab-kar or Dapui-Bon, meaning "the white-water (enlightened) or the resultant Bon".

The Bonpos are said to have got the counterparts of the Kah-gyur in general. The following are the names of their principal religious books and deities.

BON RELIGIOUS WORKS

I. TA-VA-STON-PAI-GSUÑ : PHILOSOPHY AND METAPHYSICAL WORKS

1. *Rdsogs pa rin-chhen gser-gyi hphren-va.*
2. *Rtsahgrel rlun-gi spu gu.*
3. *Man-nag hkhor-lo hod-gsal.*

II. SGOMPAI-GSUÑ : MEDITATIVE WORKS

1. *Phuñ-po rañ-hgyur thig-le dgu-skor.*
2. *Gser thig.*
3. *Lus sems namsmyon.*
4. *Sems lun ye-khri-dkar po.*

III. SPYOD-PAI SKOR LA : SERIALS OF RITES

1. *Khams brgyad gtan la phab-pai hbum.*
2. *Ye-gshen bkod-pa don-gyi hbum.*
3. *Gyuñ-druñ sa-behu lam-gyi hbum.*
4. *Rnam-dag tshul-khrims hdul vai-hbum.*
5. *Dge-rgyas tshogs-chhen rdsogs-pai hbum.*
6. *Nad hbum nag-po.*
7. *Tshe-hbum khra-po.*
8. *Sman-hbum dkar-po.*
9. *Gto-hbum dkar-po.*

IV. HPHRIN-LAS-SKYI SKOR LA : SERIALS OF EPISTLES.

1. *Gto-thabs sum-brgya-drug-chu.*
2. *Dpyad thabs brgyad khri bshi-ston.*

3. *Kyer-sgom bshi.*
4. *Skod chon-rgyad.*
5. *Ši thabs sum-brgya drug-chu.*
6. *Hdul-thabs brgyad-chu rtsa-gchig.*

These works are also called the Bon works of Chhab-nag srid-rgyud or the mystical works of the Dark world.

WORKS OF BON MYSTICISM

The following are the Mystic works of the Chhab-dkar period or the later period :

1. *Spyi-Spus Bon Mdsod.*
2. *Pha-Rgyud Drag-Po Dgu Hdus.*
3. *Ma-Rgyud Ni-Ma Dgu-Sar.*
4. *Khro-Rgyud Mdo Chhen Bbyams-Pa.*

The following are the names of the principle Bon gods and goddesses.

1. *Srog-gi sag-brdar-chhe.*
2. *Srog-gi sag-brdar.chhuñ.*
3. *Dra-va spu-gri-dmar.* The red wrathful razor spirit.
4. *Dra-va spu-gri-nag.* The black „, razor spirit.
5. *Nal-hbyams ma moi khrag-sgrub.*
6. *Stag-lha me-hbar.* The tiger god of glowing fire
—he is the popular god
universally worshipped.
7. *Pho-ña bdud.* The messenger-demon.
8. *Rgyal-po.* The well known Peharrgyalpo.
9. *Sgra-lha.* The god of sound.
10. *Btsan.* The great demon.
11. *Gsas gdan.*
12. *Dmu.*
13. *Klu.*
14. *Gssah.*
15. *Dvañ-phyug-gi-sgrub skor.*
16. *Byol-soñ khkor lo dgu-skor.*
17. *Gtan-kyi-skor.*
18. *Ro-ku-sag-pa spyan-rgyug-gyi-skor.*

In those Bon scriptures are taught the unsteadiness of all things, *karma*, *phalam*, love and compassion, the Bodhisattva feelings; the aphorisms of the six *pāramitā-s*; the five ways (of emancipation), the ten *bhūmi-s* (the stages of perfection), the nomenclature of the three images &c., inauguration, formation and perfection (ceremonies), vows, sanctification (consecration) or sacrifice (*yajña*), construction of circles and figures of mystical worship, funeral ceremonies and many other like rites and ceremonies as are similar in form and nature to those of the Buddhists. In the place of—

Buddha	they have	Ye-sen-te tha!
Chhoiku or <i>Dharma kāya</i>	they have	Bon-ku.
Yum-chhen mo <i>Mahāmāyā</i>	they have	Sa-tri-e san.
Loñku (<i>Sambhoga kāya</i>)	they have	Kuntu-ssañpo.
Tul ku (<i>Nirmāṇa kāya</i>)	they have	Sridpa-ssanpo.
Da-Chompa (<i>Arhat</i>)	they have	Ś en-sra.
Chyañ-sem (<i>Bodhisattva</i>)	they have	Yuñ-druñ sempah.
Lama (<i>guru</i>)	they have	Bon sa.
Idea of Vacuity (<i>śūnyatā</i>)	they have	Hamo-nid.
Sachu (<i>Daśa-bhūmi</i>)	they have	such names as Dri-medsel-gyi-sa; Hos-serphrova rig dsin-sprin-phun and Chhyagya gyurva sa, &c.

In orthography, rhetoric and syntax there are many deviations (from the ordinary rules).

In doctrinal and meditative points the Bonpos are divided into heretic and orthodox Bon.

In some Bon books it is mentioned that in void beginningless eternity, there came to exist entity of eternity, from which grew "hoar-frost"; from hoar-frost grew dewdrops as big as peas, &c. Ultimately all bodies and animals are said to have grown out of an egg. The Bonpos have borrowed their ideas of Śakti and Iśvara from the Tīrthika-s.¹¹ Accounts like the above

11. The prefect of Di-guh, named Jig-ten gonpo, observed that the Bonpos have erroneously adopted the principles of the Tīrthika-s.

regarding the growth of the world are also to be met with in all the Tāntrik works of the Buddhists and the Brāhmans. The Bon work called “Du-pa ripo chhe gyud” relates that all material things have no (absolute) existence. Their existence is relative to (our) wishes and desires. When attachment is withdrawn from them for the sake of attaining to a state of (mental) vacuity (*sūnyatā* or bonku), they exist not. Both these (existences)¹² being comprehended, and at the same time not clung to, by the mind, it is said to have obtained *Jñāna* of *Sūnyatā*, the bright lustre of which, being devoid of anxiety and deliberation, encompasses all. This is the real object of meditation. Thus by effecting a union of *Darśana* and meditation, as its consequence, the attainment of emancipation is secured.

According to Chyan-na lodoi Gyal-tshan, Kum-khan Šerhod and Tagtshan Locāva, the ninth volume of the Bon Aphorisms is said to agree with the theories of the Dsog-Chhe-npa class of the Niñma sect. In Bon works which they possess, it is stated, that the original basis—the purest nature which preceded both Šen (Buddha) and Sattvam (animal being)—is the clear bright vacuity, called the nature of Bonku (the Supreme ideal of the Bonpo). It is not covered by the gloom of ignorance and desires. Being nothing in itself, it has yet produced the consciousness of all. From the beginning, existing in the essence of Šen (Buddha), it is not produced by the agency of Karma. Being unconnected with the consequence of actions, it is self-existent, existent without effort. Its perception by the mind does not improve it, nor does the ignorance of it affect it in any way. It equally exists in Buddha and Sattvam (animal being), without altering them for good or bad. This primeval Cause—the Bonku, which encompasses all, is the basis of all matter. All material and transmigrating existences (Sattvam) have emanated from it. All things are contained in it. Its action is diffused without obstruction. By well-regulated thinking, when it is perceived, the mind

12. The relative and illusory existence of material things.

acquires Jñāna (wisdom). But if it is not thought upon, *i.e.*, not perceived, the mind acquires Karma or the cause of sin. If its meaning (Śūnyatā) is investigated, the real basis, the abode of time and space, is evident. To reflection and well-regulated thinking it is fully manifest. From its conception the three Bon images (ideals) are clearly seen, and then the soul is absorbed in the essence of ‘Śen’. The clearest lustre (Śūnyatā) which is identified with the Bonku or with the basis of all existence when discerned, is found self-existent in its own essence which is the nature of Buddhas¹³ and living beings; yet being thus self-existent, on account of the want of discernment (true knowledge), its existence is screened by the gloom of Avidyā; for example, though butter exists in milk, yet to the eye of the ignorant it does not. The Bonku, being perceived by the mind, becomes uncovered and manifest in all its parts. Thus the supreme nature of the basis, being uncovered and naked, is pre-eminently manifest, when the action of the mind, deliberation and effort, have nothing to do with it; then rises up Jñāna when the thinking power is obstructed, and remembrance ceases. The mind, having lost its functions, becomes passive and ceases to think. Its position then may be compared with the instantaneous bliss of the coitus of the sexes. The mind having ceased to form a conception of the Supreme cause, the Bonku or Śūnyatā stands like an image on the mirror.¹⁴ This glorious lustre is called the self-born Jñāna of Vidyā; the undivided attention towards it is called the Bon-Darśana. In the region of mind, called Chitta-rinchhen, which is immense and located on the eight petals of veins, there are the five lustres of appearance belonging to the five organs of the body. In the middle of these five lustres sits the Bonku like a crystal ball, wrapped round by the thread of the five Jñāna-s. Its essence, being Śūnya-tā, is never perpetual; nor, coming under the cognizance of Vidyā, is it subject to annihilation. That this invisible essence exists

13. That is, Bon saints.

14. The mirror is here compared with the mind which is unconnected with the image.

in this manner must be learned by meditation. Existing without cause and unseizable, it is pure in its nature.

MEDITATION

In the fully enlightened state of mind, the continued and inseparable fixing of the mind on the Bonku is called the "Gom" or meditation. There are three kinds of "Gom".

1st, Thun-gom; 2nd, Nan-gom; 3rd, Lon-gom.

Thun-gom is performed by one's being initiated into it by a spiritual guide, *i.e.*, Lama, by counting (of beads or names) and chanting of the virtues of the Bonku. In the first stage of gom, the mind does not remain absorbed in the particular object of meditation. In the middle stage, the absorption and distraction are equal. In the last stage the mind enters into complete abstraction. The perfect abstraction being brought under control, it can be suspended, put off and resumed, at pleasure. When the opportune time, the time of attaining sainthood, comes, this meditation (gom) reaches its limit.

2nd, Nan-gom. At proper times, the mind gets filled with the light of Ātma-mukti-jñāna, and then passing into deep meditation (yoga) becomes fully abstracted and at last even devoid of meditation itself. When this state is attained, the limit of Nan-gom is reached. This state may be compared with the calm and unruffled sea, the ideal of Supreme inaction.

3rd, Lon-gom. When, after acquiring all sorts of Vidyā and seeing the real object ("Gom", meaning an object aimed at), the meditation is finished and the mind has ceased thinking of the attainment of the essence of Śūnyatā, the time of Lon-gom begins. At this time all sins, wicked thoughts, &c. turn into Jñāna, all visible and invisible matter enter the all-pure region of Śūnyatā, or Bonku, when transmigratory and emancipated existence, good and evil, mental attachment and separation, &c. turn one and without difference. When by this most perfect kind of meditation the sublime state is attained, the Lon-gom is gained.

These theories and notions of the Bonpo bear a striking resemblance to those of the Dsog-chhenpa sect of the Nīnma school.

The following are the nine vehicles of the Bon religion called Bon-Srañ.

1st. 1. Phwa-sen.

2. Nan-sen.

3. Thul-sen.

4. Srid-sen.

These four *yāna*-s are called the causative vehicles.

2nd. 1. Ge-nen.

2. A' kar.

3. Tan sruñ.

4. Ye-sen.

These four are called the resultant vehicles.

3rd. The last vehicle which contains the essence of all the above eight vehicles, is called the Khyadpar-chhenpoi Thegpa.

The Phwa-sen contains three hundred and sixty questions and doubts and 84,000 proofs. The Nan-sen contains four Gyer-gom and 42 Tah-rag. Gyer-gom and Tah-rag are divisions of the meditative science of the Bonpo. The Thul-sen teaches the working of miracles. The Srid-sen treats of 360 modes of dying and funeral services, the four ways of disposing of the dead, and 81 methods of suppressing evil spirits.

The Ge-nen treats of the aphorisms regarding the bodies, animal life and their growth and maturity.

The A'kar describes many mystic (*Tāntrik*) demonstrations. In the Ye-sen the various kinds of mental demonstration, and in the Khyad-par-chhenpo the five classes of Upadeśa (instruction) are described.¹⁵

The Tan-sruñ describes the kinds of Bum, i.e., the tombs for the deposition of relics.

The four Gyu Bon, or vehicles of effects, take away the four discriminations of remembrance and understanding. The study of A'kar and Yeshen refines the obfuscating defects of learning.

¹⁵. Besides the essence of the other eight vehicles, as previously mentioned.

The Khyadpar-chhenpo can singly effect what the others can jointly do. Again the four Gyu Bon can secure the enjoyment of the four Bhūmi-s (stages of perfection) of honourable action, for several ages. The Ge-ñen and Tan-sruṇ, after carrying the Sattvam happily through three kalpas, will take it to emancipation. The A'kar and Ye-sen can give it, after its first birth, freedom from existence. The Khyadpar-chhenpo can secure to a person emancipation even in this life. (The author remarks : Although I could not obtain a work in which the rise and progress, theories and principles of the Bon religion are exhaustively described, yet I have written according to the account delivered to me by the sage of Digun respecting the earlier, mediaeval and later Bonpos). Learned and erudite professors of the Bon religion, when it attained to prosperity, held a synod in the celebrated cavern of "Sañ-vai-Bon-Phug" in the Mañkhar country. Priests and sages from India, Persia, China and Tíbet assembled there. A compendious compilation of Bon "gomo" (or sūtra-s), about 84,000 in number, was made, which is well-known by the name of Sañ-nag-dson-thad no-hod-gyan.

Among the principal classes of Bon monasteries of Tibet, the Šenderdin monastery and the Yuñ-druṇ monasteries of Gyal-mo-roñ were most noted. In later times, by the command of the Emperor of China, most of these were pulled down by the Imperial armies and the Bon monasteries and religious establishments greatly devastated. On the site of the Yuñ-druṇ Lhadiñ monastery, a Gelugpa monastery called Gaḥdan was erected. An edict was issued forbidding all to follow the Bon doctrines, in spite of which many Bon priests and numerous monasteries still exist in Gyal-roñ, Tsho-kha and Konpo and other places. The *Gonparituo* of Kham contains 500 priests. Formerly the Bonpo had no monastic system. Now after the example of the Buddhists they have monks and nuns, some of whom have pretensions to incarnate existence. But in general they are great drinkers of wine and eaters of meat. They are not careful to refrain from female company.

DISPUTE BETWEEN A BUDDHIST AND A BONPO PRIEST FOR THE POSSESSION OF MOUNT KAILASA AND THE LAKE MANASA.¹

Jet-tsun Milarepa with a great many pupils arrived at mount Tesi (Kailāśa) from Pu rāñ. There he was welcomed by a number of local deities. They made him profound salutations and large and curious offerings. Besides making him a gift of the lake Mapāñ and mount Tesi for the use of himself and his pupils as a hermitage, they undertook to protect his devotees and followers, after which they returned to their respective abodes.

When the teacher with his pupils arrived on the shores of the lake Mapāñ to make religious obeisance and reverence, the Bon priest Naro-Bon-chhuñ and his sister, being informed of his fame and of his visit to Tesi, came to meet him there. Knowing him, yet pretending not to recognise him, Naro thus accosted the teacher and his pupils : Whence are you and wither do you go ?

The venerable Je-tsun said : We are come from one of the mountains called La-chhyi (Laphye), in order to sit in meditation on the top of Tesi.

Naro : What is your name ?

Je-tsun : I am called Milarepa.

Naro : Well then ! the snowy Tesi, the Lake Mapāñ and yourself are alike. From a distance your fame is great, but on a near approach it is stripped of its wonder. Admitting this mountain to be wonderful, I must say it is the possession of the Bonpo. If you wish to live here, you must practise Bon rites.

Je-tsun : According to the Buddhist revelation, this mountain is a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists in general, and more particularly by the prophecy of the sage Marpa it is destined to be the place of my hermitage. You must consider

1. Literally translated from a block-print said to be 800 years old.

yourself fortunate to have owned it so long. If now you continue to reside here, you must follow the practices of our religion; otherwise you may go wherever you like.

Naro-Bon-chhuñ : You two, though from a distance are of great fame, yet are little at a near view.² If you have something wonderful in you, come, let us compete with each other in the exhibition of miracles, so that whoever wins should own this place.

So saying, Naro stood like a colossal figure over the lake, placing his legs on its opposite banks, and in metrical language thus spoke first to Kankar Tesi :

Though great is thy fame,
Yet with snow thy head is clad.

Then to Mapañ-yu-tsho :

Though great is thy name,
Being water, by water thou art crossed.

Lastly to Milarepa :

Though great is thy fame,
Yet in old age half naked³ thou liest.
From thy mouth outpours a pretty song.
Thy hands an iron trident hold;
Save this no wonders in thee lie.

Then in exclamation, to his gods :

Thou unchangeable Bon-yun-tunku Ye-sen,⁴
And thou legion of exalted gods !
Thou wrathful Tho-gyal, sucker of blood.
With widely yawning mouth !
Thou nine-headed Vu-gupa
Who wieldest twice nine arms,
And whose incarnation Gye-god is,
Thy head what prodigies holds !
Thy sister is Sriñ-gyalma.
I, Bon-chhuñ, am her devotee.

2. Referring to his Indian ascetic dress.
3. The ideal image of the Bonpo.
4. The ideal image of the Bonpo.

Then looking defiantly towards Je-tsун :

Miracles—if shewn, should be shewn like this.

Hearing this challenge, Je-tsун sat himself down, covering the lake Mapań. Lo ! it was a curious sight. The lake did not contract, nor did Je-tsун enlarge his body, yet each exactly fitted on the other.

He then sang this Hymn :

Ho ! Ho ! Demon come and hear !
 On the top of the Vulture-peaked hill,⁵
 On the exalted throne—by eight lions borne,
 The Victor Śākyā Thuba sits ;
 Matchless and one with him in wisdom,
 In the mansion of Virtue, called Hogmin,
 The great sixth Buddha Dorje-Chhań⁶ presides,
 In spirit with the Divine Mother united.
 In the sages Tilo and Nāropa he became incarnate.
 The latter, who kept the door of Śrī Nalendra,
 And the Lochāvā Saṅgye-Marpa,
 These I ask for benediction.
 I, famed far and wide,
 To carry out the word of Marpa of Lha-brag,
 Have come to Tesi to meditate,
 For my own and others' good.
 And now, O heretical Bonpo, comest thou ?
 Let me retort on thee with a repartee !
 Kañkar Tesi of great fame,
 Whose crest with snow is white,
 So white is Buddha's faith.
 Mapań, the famed lake of Turquoise,
 Whose water over water runs,
 So all matter in vacuity is lost.
 I, Milarepa of great fame,
 An, old man who naked lies,
 Am sprung from Wisdom and Remembrance.⁷

5. Gṛdhra-kūṭa Parvata on which Śākyasimha used to sit in *yoga*.

6. This is the chief Buddha or Dharmakāya of the Gelugpa school.

7. That is, the virtue of remembrance of former Buddhas.

My lips sing a little song,
 For all Nature at which I look
 Serves me for a book.
 The iron staff that my hands hold,
 Guides me across the ocean of migratory life.
 I rule over mind and light.
 For prodigies and miracles to shew
 I depend not on earthly gods.
 Tesi, the Prince of the World's Mounts,
 To Buddhists in general possession yields,
 And to Milarepa chiefly and his votaries.
 Ye heretical Bonpo be useful and good,
 Come and embrace the sacred Dharma !
 If you do not,—vanquished by miracles,
 Go hence to other and distant lands !
 Beware of such prodigies in future !

He then held lake Mapriñ on the tip of his thumb.

Naro Bon-chhuñ : This time your miracle appeared somewhat wonderful. As I arrived here prior to you, allow me to remain along with you. Let us try a second feat in showing miracles to see who wins !

Je-tsun : I cannot condescend to exhibit religious miracles in rivalry with a juggling enemy; if you cannot adopt my religion, better remove yourself elsewhere.

Naro : I cannot cast off the faith of Yuñ-druñ from my mind. If in exhibiting miracles you can defeat me, I shall out of my own accord go away. But you cannot use force against me; for to kill me or to beat me, is against your vows of religion. By no other means can you drive me out. Come therefore, let us try another feat !

He then advanced to make Bon-kor, i.e., to go round the sacred peak of Tesi from right to left. On the other hand, Je-tsun performed the "Chho-kor", i.e., circumambulated from left to right according to the Buddhist method. Coming thus from opposite directions, the parties met together near a huge rock called Phapon, situated in the north-eastern Joñ of the country.

Naro : Your circumambulation is well done, now let us once more do the same according to the Bon fashion.

So saying and catching Je-tsun's hands, he attempted to draw him towards his own way.

Je-tsun : Even if I move in the wrong way, I shall not betake myself to the contrary faith or religion. But (added he) to you now follow our religion !

When they were pulling one another by the arm, each to bring the other to his way and creed, their foot-marks remained imprinted on the top of the rock Phapoñ. At last by the force of holiness, Je-tsun succeeded in drawing the Bonpo towards his own way of circumambulation. When arrived at the northern back of Tesi, Naro said : From behind this let us make the Bon-kor.

Je-tsun : If you can.

Naro : This time you may have appeared great, but let us once again wrestle !

So saying, he hurled a piece of rock of the size of a yak, towards Phapoñ. Je-tsun also at the same time threw one twice as large as Naro's.

Naro : This time you have won, but one or two winnings are no test at all. Come let us try again !

Je-tsun : If the sun, moon and the stars all combine to throw lustre, yet the sun and moon can alone dispel the gloom of the world, so if you and I wrestle together, you cannot be equal to me. Tesi therefore has passed under my sway. I am victorious. For your satisfaction and also in order that all men may see the superior might of Dharma, you may try another feat. Je-tsun therefore sat on the cavern called Padma-Phug,⁸ on the western Joñ of Tesi. When the Bonpo reached the eastern side, Je-tsun from the west, stretching his legs, trod on the cell of the Bonpo, where he left a foot-mark, and said : If you can do the like, come and do it. Naro attempted from the east to reach it with his leg by stretching it to the west but it did not go half the way. Seeing this, the Asura-s

(Demons) from the skies broke into loud laughter. The Bonpo, who was a little ashamed, again wanted to try another feat and advanced to perform the Bon-kor. Je-tsun himself having proceeded with his Chho-kor, they met to the south of Tesi, when a heavy shower of rain fell. At this, Je-tsun, wanting a place of shelter, asked him whether he could construct the walls or the superstructure of the house, which he meant to erect for shelter.

Naro : I shall undertake to construct the roof.

Je-tsun now commanded the Phapon to come to the spot and have a portion of his body to serve him as a wall. Phapon consented, and lo ! there was erected a huge fabric without a roof. Naro-Bon-chhun several times attempted to put a stone roof over the wall, but every time he failed.

Naro : You call me a juggler, but it is you who every time I have seen play the part of a juggler. I am not satisfied with these, your miracles Both you and I, on the 15th of this month, shall run a race up to the top of Tesi. Be it settled that whichever of us shall reach the top of Kañ-Tesi quicker, will get possession of it. It will then be seen which of us possesses the chief perfection.

Je-tsun agreed to the proposal, but remarked : What a pity ! You mistake the light of Bon-bum for the chief perfection. He who possesses it should be able to see his own face. In order to be able to do so, one must embrace the system of meditation prescribed in our religion.

Naro : What good and evil lie in your mind and in mine, what the difference is between the Bon and Buddhist religions, whether your previous prodigies are mere illusions or proceed from propitiation,—I cannot make out. Now let us be sure of seeing which of us can be on the top of Tesi earlier.

The proposal was accepted by Je-tsun. In the meantime Naro-Bon-chhun diligently offered prayer to his tutelary deity, while Je-tsun steadily applied himself to the exercise of his ascetic rites.

At the dawn of the 15th, Naro-Bon-chhun being dressed in a blue fur-dress, playing the cymbal, called "shañ", and

mounting a tambourine, went towards the sky. The pupils of Je-tsun, seeing this, went to him and found him fast asleep. One of the pupils named Re-chhun addressed him : "Venerable Sir ! Naro-Bon-chhun, early in the morning, riding his own tambourine, flew towards the sky. By this time he has reached the waist of Tesi". Je-tsun being still in bed, his pupil thought that the Bonpo had gained the day and carried off the possession of the place. Earnestly he pressed Je-tsun to get up, and the same was done by all the pupils. Je-tsun now looked with fixed eyes towards Tesi and said : "Behold ! the Bonpo, being unable to climb the precipice, has gone round it." Then in a finger's snapping he mounted the sun-beam and, by spreading his raiment as outspread wings, flew towards the top of Tesi, which he reached in a moment along with the glowing sun. At this time the Lamas belonging to Je-tsun's order and the god Chakra Sambara witnessed the spectacle, and were delighted with the triumph of Je-tsun. When Naro-Bon-chhun was attempting to rise above the neck of Tesi, he fell down, and his tambourine rolled down towards the southern valley of Tesi.

EARLY HISTORY OF TIBET¹

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the advent of Śākyā Siṁha, during the war between the five Pāñdavas and the twelve legions² of Kaurava armies, one of the warrior princes, named Rūpati, through dread of war, fled towards the snowy country of Tibet. For fear of being pursued by his suzerain, the chief of the Kauravas, for deserting the field, he dressed himself in female attire, and with only one thousand followers took shelter in Tibet. He found the country, Pugyal, (for such was the ancient name of Tibet, which in later times was converted into Bod,)³ widely peopled by a race of men, still in a primitive state. They welcomed him as their king. By his mild and peaceful behaviour he won their affection and ruled over them for many years. Under his and his descendants' rule the people multiplied, enjoyed prosperity and developed the arts. From Rūpati to the foundation of monarchy in Tibet by Ŋah-Thitsanpo, in the beginning of the fourth century before the birth of Christ, the history of Tibet is very obscure. During this long interval, after the fall of the house of Rūpati, the country was partitioned into several petty states, ruled by insignificant native chieftains and princes. Of this uninteresting period

1. The following account of Tibetan history is obtained from original sources. I have consulted Debther-ṇon-po, Chho juṇ by Buton, Ga-nagi-tsi, and the original ancient records of Tibet called Ṇon-gyi-yig-tshān-ñiñ-pa, &c., &c. The preparation of a complete history of Tibet, from the earliest period to the present date for which I am at present engaged in collecting materials is under contemplation.
2. Indian legions amounting to one Akṣauhiṇī or Tibetan Puṇ-tshog.
3. The Tibetan *b* when unaccompanied by any other letter is pronounced like *p* slightly aspirated, and the final *d* in Tibetan is always mute. Therefore Bod is pronounced as Po or Pu of Pu-gyal.

scarcely any reliable record, traditional or legendary, is extant, sufficient to throw any light on the earliest history of Tibet. Among the ancient records, the Debther-Nonpo and the Chho Juñ⁴ are by far the most correct. Their authors appear to have been less influenced by love of the marvellous, or the appetite for wonders, which marks all early Oriental writings, and to have collected their materials in an exemplary spirit of sober investigation. The Debther-Nonpo and the Chho Juñ are therefore unique and rare ancient historical records of Tibet. According to these, the country was peopled at the same time as India, in the beginning of the present *Kalpa*, a fact accepted by most modern native historians. The Gyal-rab or royal pedigree, written by the fifth Gyalwa-Rinpochhe, and Maṇi Kahbum, one of the oldest legendary works, ascribed to king Sroñ-tsan gampo, besides other works of historical fiction, give altogether a different and fabulous account of the origin of the Tibetans. In the sacred books of Kālacakra, *Mañjuśrī mūla tantra*, and *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā*, Buddha foretold that his religion would be widely diffused in the snowy country of the north, where many Saints would also appear.

Chapter I
 MONARCHY (416 B. C. TO 617 A. D.)
 (BON PERIOD)

Four hundred and seventeen years, according to Buton's⁵

4. Chhos-hbyuñ; in Tibetan when *b* preceded by *h* is pronounced as *j*

5. The great Tibetan author Buton was born at Tho-phug in the year 1290 A.D. He became the abbot of the Shalu monastery near Tasil-hunpo. He was the first great Tibetan scholar who compiled the two well-known Encyclopaedias of the Buddhist scriptures, called Kah-gyur and Tan-gyur, which were formerly scattered in detached pieces among different monasteries. He wrote the great critical chronological work, called Khapa-kah-chad, which is followed by the Gelugpa writers, and composed 40 volumes in different branches of sacred literature, astrology, medicine and history.

chronology, after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, in the year 416 B.C., was born in India, Nāh-Thi-tsāpo, the first of the Tibetan kings who established universal sway over Tibet. The fifth son of king Prasenajit of Kośala⁶ was born with obliquely drawn eyes and light blue eye-brows of the colour of turquoise. As soon as he came out of his mother's womb, the infant was found possessed of webbed fingers and two rows of teeth, fully developed, and white as a conch shell. Apprehending great evil from such ominous signs in the infant, the parents packed it up in a copper vessel and floated it away on the river Gaṅgā. A farmer, finding it, carried it to his wife who nursed it. Being a simple-hearted man, he did not try to pass off the child as his own, but revealed the truth ; and the strange story of the forlorn royal child became known to all. Informed of the antecedents of his life—how he had been thrown into the Gaṅgā by his royal parents and nursed by the good farmer's wife—the youth's mind was overcast with sorrow and thoughtfulness. Being born a prince, he could not bend his mind to apply itself to the lowly pursuits of a farmer's life. After passing many a day in anxiety and melancholy, he quitted the farmer's house, bidding his country a mournful farewell, with a firm determination either to reign as a king or not to live at all. He proceeded northward to the Himālaya mountains subsisting on wild fruit. Unmindful of the difficulties of a mountain journey or of death, he travelled further north, till by the blessing of Ārya Chen-re-ssig he arrived at the summit of the Lhari snowy mountains of Tibet and surveyed the surrounding regions. His heart was delighted on descrying land on the north, and gradually descending as it were from heaven, down the slopes, he arrived at Tsān-thān,⁷ a great plateau with four passages on its four sides. Here he was met by many natives, who, struck with the graceful looks of the stranger, asked him respectfully, who he

6. This famous monarch is said to have been sent to India to be born in a royal family of undefiled race in order to spread Buddhism in Tibet. The spirit of Chen-re-ssig entered into him to make him one of the dynasty of Prasenajit.

7. In the Province of dUs.

was, and where he came from. He replied to them by signs (for he knew not their language) that he was a prince, and pointing his finger towards the top of Lhari, he showed the direction he had come from. The Tibetans, who were sure they had seen him come from the direction of heaven, took him for a god who had descended from the celestial regions. Prostrating themselves before him, they entreated him to be their king, an offer which he gladly accepted. Then placing him on a chair, they carried him in solemn procession to the central country. From being borne on the back of men, seated on a chair, he was called by the name of *Ñah-Thi-tsampo*.⁸ He erected the great palace of Yumbu Lagañ, on the site of which Lhasa was built in later days. He married a Tibetan lady named Nam Mug-mug, who, says the legend, was a fairy. After a long and prosperous reign of many years, which was marked by the dispensation of wise and impartial justice, the king died, leaving the throne to his son Mug-Thi-tsampo. The first seven kings, counting from *Ñah-Thi-tsampo*, are well known by the designation of *Namgyi-Thi*.⁹ Di-gum-tsampo, the eighth in descent from *Ñah-Thi*, was married to Lu-tsan-mer-cham, by whom he had three sons. His minister, named Lo-nam, was a very ambitious man, who rebelled against him. An internecine war followed in which the king was killed.

It was during this war that the use of the coat of mail (*khrab*) was first introduced into Tibet from Mar-Kham.¹⁰ The victorious minister, having married one of the widows of the late king, usurped the throne and obliged the three princes to fly towards Kon-po. He reigned for several years. The widow of the late king and mother of the three princes, by invoking the goblin *Yar-lha-sampo*, got a son, who eventually

8. *gÑah*=back; *khri*=chair; *btsampo*=king (chair-borne king). *bTsampo* is a purely ancient Tibetan word meaning the powerful. *bTsan* means a spirit, and *po* is the substantive particle which also partakes of the nature of a definite article.

9. *gNam*=heaven, *gyi*=of, *Khri*=throne; hence 'celestial throne'.

10. A province of Kham on the north-west of U' (dUs).

rising to the post of minister, killed the usurper. He now invited the three exiled princes from Kon-po, the eldest of whom named Chya-Thi-tsampo quietly ascended his ancestral throne. Chya-Thi-gyal was married to Bom-than. During his reign the Bon religion spread largely over Tibet. Mug-Thi-tsampo, marrying Sadiñ-din, begat Diñ-Thi-tsampo, whose son, by his queen Sa-than-than was king So-Thi-tsampo. So-Thi-tsampo was married to Dog-mer-mer, by whom he got Mer-Thi-tsampo, who by his wife Dag-Kyi Lhamo Karmo had a son Dag-Thi-tsampo. This king married Srib-Kyi-Lhamo, of whom was born Srib-Thi-tsampo. These kings are said to have ascended to the skies, being carried there by their queens who were celestial beings, in consequence of which their mortal relics were not left below. The ancient Tibetans, while giving an Aryan origin to their first sovereigns, did not fail to show greater regard for their country by giving their princesses an altogether divine origin. Srib-thi-tsampo married Sa-tsan-luñ-je, who gave birth to the celebrated king Di-gum-tsampo, under whom the Bon religion became greatly diffused in Tibet. Both he and his father are well-known in Tibet by the title of Parkyi-diñ.¹¹ The names of all these kings, it is worthy of remark, were formed by a combination of the names of their parents, the mother's name generally preceding that of the father. Bom-than gave birth to king Esholeg whose son, by Mu-cham Bramana, was king Desholeg. Desho married Lu-mañ-mermo, who gave birth to Thisholeg, who again by his Queen Tsan-mo-gur mañ had a son Guru-leg. Guru married Tsho-mandon, who gave birth to Don-shi-leg, who married Mañ-pumo and by her had a son Isholeg, whose son by Mu-cham was Ssa-nam-Ssin-de. The six succeeding kings were designated by the title of Sai-leg, meaning the excellent of the land. Ssanam Ssin-de married the fairy Tsho-mañ-thi-kar, of whom De-Phrul-Nam-Shun Tsan was born. This prince was married to Se Nan-manma who gave birth to Se-Nol-De, whose son by Lu mo-mer-ma was SeNol-po De,

11. i.e., The soarer of the middle region.

who again by Mo-tsho begat De Nol-Nam. This last prince married Thi-Maṇ-Jema, who gave birth to De Nolpo, who again by his wife Se-tsun-Nan Je had a son De Gyalpo. De Gyalpo, married to Ni-tsun-maṇ ma-Je, begat Tori Lon-tsan. This succession of eight kings who followed the Sai-leg were distinguished by the surname De. All the queens of the above monarchs were believed to be superhuman beings, such as fairies and sirens, who for enjoyment of earthly pleasures, had assumed human forms. They were believed to have gone to heaven with their bodies, taking their husbands with them.

In fact those princesses were not chosen from Tibetan subjects but from the families of the independent sovereign princes of the border countries. In Tibet a princess is called Lhamo or goddess. The queens who came next in succession were generally taken from among the subjects, and were therefore of human origin. It was in the 27th generation of the royal succession that the Bon religion rose to the zenith of its power, and when the sun of Buddhism was shining in its meridian lustre all over Jambudvīpa (says the Debther Nonpo), snow-girdled Tibet remained buried in the impenetrable darkness of Bon mysticism. King Tori was married to Diṇ tsun Chyan-ma, who gave birth to Su-Thi-tsan, who being married to the princess of Maṇ named Thi-Kar, begat Thi-da-Pnī-tsan. This last prince also married a princess of lower Kham named Lu ten, by whom he got Thi-thog Jetsan. All these princes are said to have been peculiarly favoured by Chenressig, though Buddhism was as yet unknown in Tibet. All these five kings were known under the title of Tsan.

In the year 441 A.D.¹² was born the famous Tibetan king Lha-tho-thori Ḇnan-tsan, believed to be the incarnation of

12. Various authors give different dates regarding the birth of this monarch. The chronology adopted by me tallies with facts. Ḇnan-tsan was his real name, Lha tho-thori was the name of the place where he was born. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birth places; for instance the great reformer of Tibet Lossāṇ tag-pa is called Tsoṇ Khapa from Tsoṇ Kha, his native place. Tsoṇ means onion, Kha a bank.

Kuntu Ssañpo.¹³ He ascended the throne in the 21st year of his age. When he reached the 80th year of his age, in the year 521 A.D., there fell from heaven on the top of the great palace of Yumbu Lagañ a precious chest, which when opened was found to contain the following objects:

- (1) Dode-Ssamatog (*Sūtrānta Piṭaka*).
- (2) Ser-kyi-Chhorten (a golden miniature shrine).
- (3) Pañ-kon Chhyagya-Chhen po (a sacred treatise on palmistry and mysticism).
- (4) Cintāmaṇi Norpo and Phorpa (a Cintāmaṇi gem and cup).

Being the first prince who was favoured by heaven with the precious gift of the sacred treasures, Lha-tho-thori has been deified by the Tibetans. As the king, sitting in council with his ministers, was debating on the value and merit of the divine gift, there was heard a voice from heaven, saying that in the fifth generation the meaning of the contents should be revealed. The king, therefore, carefully preserved them in his palace and under the name of Sañ-wa Nañpo daily offered oblations to them. In consequence of such a rare instance of good fortune, the king retained his youthful vigour even at the advanced age of four-score and ten. He died in the year 561 A.D. at the age of 120, after a prosperous reign of fully a century. He too bore the appellation of Tsan to his name like his five predecessors. King Lha-thothori married the princess No-Ssa-mañ-po-Je of whom king Thi-Ñan-Ssañ-tsan was born. The latter married the princess of Bro of whom Bro-Ñam-Dehu was born. Bro-Ñam was married to the princess of Chhin named Lu-gyal who gave birth to a blind child.

This son of Bro Ñan Dehu was disqualified from ascending the throne on account of his blindness. As there was no other heir, nor any possibility of the queen giving birth to a second son, the blind boy, after a short interregnum, was placed on the throne. At his coronation, the sacred treasures called

13. Kuntu Ssañ-po is also the name of the supreme god of the Bon religion.

Naṇpo Saṇwa were worshipped, by virtue of which the blind king regained his sight. The first object that he saw being a Nan (or wild sheep) running on the Tagri hill near Lhasa, he was given the name of Tagri Nan Ssig. He married Hol-gon Ssaṇ, and was succeeded by his son Nam-ri-Sroṇ-tsan. It was during the reign of this king, that the Tibetans got their first knowledge of arithmetic and medicine from China. The prosperity and the cattle-wealth of the country was so great during this period that the king built his palace with cement moistened with the milk of the cow and the yak. Once riding his fiery and quick-footed steed, named Dovan-Chaṇ, which he had obtained from the banks of lake Bragsum Diṇma (a small lake north of Lhasa, not more than 20 miles round), he arrived at the northern desert plain where he slew a fierce Dom (wild yak) with terrible horns called Thal-Kar-ro-riṇ. Then, while riding fast, the carcass of the yak, which he had bound with the straps of his saddle, fell down on the ground. In order to take it up, the king alighted from his horse, when he found himself on an extensive salt bank. This was the inexhaustible mine called Chyaṇ-gi-tshva, which still supplies the greater portion of Tibet with salt. Before the discovery of this salt mine, there was a very scanty supply of salt in Tibet. The king married Bri-thon-Kar, the princess of Tshe-Poṇ, by whom he got his only son. The powerful Namri-Sroṇ-tsan died in the year 630 A.D., leaving the throne to his son, the illustrious Sroṇ-tsan Gampo, with whom opens a new era in the history of Tibet.

Chapter II
MONARCHY (600 A.D.—730 A.D.)
(BUDDHIST PERIOD)

Sroṇ-tsan Gampo was born A.D. 600/617.¹⁴ On the crown

14. Tibetan historians do not agree in their accounts of the exact date of this sovereign's birth, but their dates range between 600 to 617 A.D. He is the avowed incarnation of Chen-re-ssig.

of his head there was an excrescence believed to be a symbolic representation of Buddha Amitābha. Although it was very bright and full of lustre, yet he used to cover it with a red satin head-band. At the age of thirteen he ascended the throne. During this period were discovered, in certain caverns of rocks and recesses of mountains, many self-created images of Chenressig,¹⁵ the divine mother Tārā, Hayagrīva and other gods, besides many inscriptions including the six mystic syllables : *Om-maṇi-padme-hum*.

The king visited these images and made oblations to them with his own hands. With the help of his subjects he built a lofty nine-storied palace on the top of the hill, where Potala now stands, built out of its ruins. He had immense armies, besides innumerable reserve troops of spirits over whom by force of his charms he had great command. The fame of the wisdom and martial valour of this double-headed prince, as he was called from the excrescence over his head, reached the border countries, whose sovereigns sent ambassadors to his court with letters and rich presents. He returned their kindness in a way that was most becoming in a sovereign of his rank. While yet very young, Sron-tsan Gampo evinced great intelligence and sagacity in dealing with his dependent princes and improving friendship with independent potentates. Although there was no such thing as a written language in Tibet, even at so late a period as this, yet Sron-tsan managed to communicate with the foreign kings in their own languages. He had learnt many of the border languages, which helped him in conducting conversation with the Indian and Chinese ambassadors. He acquired a fair knowledge of the Sanskrit, Palpa (Newari) and Chinese. These rare qualifications, and especially his inclination towards Buddhism, made people believe him to be an incarnation of some divinity. He extended his conquests to the surrounding countries, and brought

15. spyan-ras gSigs or Avalokiteśvara.

the neighbouring princes under subjection. As soon as he got clear of all military difficulties, he devoted his attention to the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. He clearly saw that a written language was most essential to the establishment of religion, and more particularly to the institution of laws for the good of the people, and that as long as this all-important want remained unsupplied, no success in either could be ensured. He, therefore, sent Sambhoṭa, son of Anu, with sixteen companions, to study carefully the Sanskrit language and thereby obtain access to the sacred literature of the Indian Buddhists. He also instructed them to device means for the invention of a written language for Tibet, by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan dialect. He furnished the members of the mission with a large quantity of gold to make presents to their Indian professors. They safely reached their destination in Āryāvarta, where, under the Buddhist sage Livikara, Sambhoṭa acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit and of sixty-four different characters known in the Ārya land. Under Pañdit Devavid Simha they learnt the Kalāpa, Candra and Sārasvata grammars of the Sanskrit language. They also mastered the twenty-one treatises of aphorisms and mysticism of the Buddhist creed. After returning to Tibet, they propitiated Mañjuśrī, the god of learning, and framed the system of Tibetan characters, viz., the U-chan or "letters provided with heads" (*mālṛā-s*) adapted from the Devanāgarī, and the U-me or "headless" from the Wartu, and thus introduced a copious system of written language into Tibet. They composed the great grammatical work called SumChu dag-yig. The king ordered the intelligent class of people to be taught the art of reading and writing, and many Sanskrit Buddhist books to be translated into Tibetan, and thus he laid the foundation of Buddhism in Tibet. He then required all his subjects by royal edicts, to observe the ten virtues, besides the following sixteen moral virtues :

- (1) To have faith in KonChhog (god)
- (2) The performance of religious observances and study.

- (3) To honour one's parents.
- (4) To respect the meritorious and to promote the talented.
- (5) To honour the elders as well as those who are of high birth, &c.
- (6) To pay attention to relatives and friends.
- (7) To be patriotic and useful to one's own country.
- (8) To be honest and upright.
- (9) To know the good use of food and wealth.
- (10) To follow the example of the good.
- (11) To be grateful and return the kindness of benefactors.
- (12) To use just weights and measures.
- (13) To be free from jealousy by establishing concord and harmony with all.
- (14) Not to listen to the words of women.
- (15) To be gentle and polite in speech and acquire skill in conversation.
- (16) To bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness.

By inculcating these sixteen moral virtues, he greatly promoted the present and future well-being and happiness of his subjects. From the seashore of southern India he procured for himself a self-created image of Chenressig with eleven faces made of Nāga-sāra sandal wood. He married a Nepali Princess, the daughter of Jyoto Varma king of Nepal, who brought him seven precious dowries, the images of Akṣobhya and Maitreya and a sandal-image of Tārā, the gem named Ratnadeva, a mendicant's Platter made of lapis-lazuli or Vaidūrya. Then, hearing the report of the extraordinary beauty of the Princess Hun-shin Kun-ju, the daughter of Seṅge-tsampo or the Lion King (Chinese Thai-Tsung¹⁶) of China, he sent his celebrated Prime Minister Gar with a hundred officers to China.

16. King Thai-Tsung, one of the most illustrious sovereigns of China, was the son of Lyeian, the founder of the Tang dynasty of China A.D. 622. Thai-Tsung ascended the throne abdicated by his father in his favour in year 625, when Sroñ-tsan was reigning on the throne of (Yum-bu Lagañ) Tibet.

After repeated negotiations the proposal was agreed to. Many stories are recorded in connection with this marriage of which I here give one. As the number of candidates for the princess's hand was very great, the king, unable to decide whom to choose or whom to reject, at last declared that he should bestow the princess on that prince whose minister by dint of sharpness of sense and quickness of understanding would stand first in merit and intelligence. In the first ordeal, the king laid before the assembled ministers a buckler constructed of a coil of turquoise, with one end terminating in the centre and the other at the edge. He required them to pass a string through the aperture of the coil from one end to the other. It was a great puzzle to all except to the shrewd Tibetan minister Gar, who tying one end of a thread to the narrow waist of a queen ant, gently blew it forward through the coil. The ant, dragging the thread easily, came out at the other end to the great wonder of all. The king, not liking to send his favourite daughter to such a distant and barbarous country as Tibet, devised repeated trials in all of which the cunning minister acquitted himself well. The reluctance of the king was at last overcome by various contrivances, and he at last determined to decide the fate of his daughter finally. He ordered 500 handsome girls of the princess's age to be dressed in the same kind of apparel as his daughter, and exhibited them before the assembled ambassadors along with the princess herself. The shrewd Tibetan, never wanting in resources, had studied the countenance of the princess; moreover being secretly informed of the king's design, he had taken some hints about the identification of the princess from an old nurse in the royal household. By these means, the minister Gar at once recognized the real princess, and gently pulling the edge of her robe, he claimed her for his liege lord. The trials ended here. When it was fully settled that the princess should go to Tibet, she addressed the king, "Sire, as it has pleased your Imperial Majesty to send me to Bod, a country where there is no religion, I pray that you will allow me to take with me the great image of Buddha, and several volumes of Buddhist

scriptures, besides a few treatises on medicine and astrology". The king accordingly granted her prayer and gave them as parts of her dowry. Hearing that Tibet was a very poor country, he sent with the princess heaps of gold and silver for her use in Tibet. The union of the incarnation of Chenressig in Sron-tsan, and of the two incarnations of the divine mothers (Tārā) in the persons of the two princesses, produced great joy and happiness in the palace of Yumbu-lagān. The two princesses, come from two great centres of Buddhism, viz., China and Nepal, jointly exerted their influence for the propagation of Buddhism. First of all they converted the king whose inclination to it was so remarkably manifested in his adopting the moral tenets obtained by Thom-mi Sambhoṭa from India. The country of Tibet being situated in the centre of the four great continents., like the heaving breast of a Sriñ mo,¹⁷ the king thought of making it the fountain of religion by filling it with monasteries. He erected one hundred and eight temples —four in the suburbs of his capital, four in its centre, four at the four corners of his kingdom, and so on. At the age of twenty-three he erected the two great temples called Ramochhe and Lhasa Prul mañ ki Tsug-la khañ¹⁸ and dedicated them to the two images of Akṣobhya and Śākyā respectively. Thus in the year 639 A.D. king Sron tsan Gampo founded Lhasa, the renowned capital of Tibet. The hill called Chagpori being considered as the heart of the country, the king erected his new palace upon it. At the age of twenty-five he sent his ministers to North China to erect 108 chapels at Re-vo-tse-na, the chosen residence of Mañjuśrī towards the north of Pekin. He invited the great Pandits Kusara and Śaṅkara Brāhmaṇa from India, Pañdit Śila Mañju from Nepal, and Hwa-Shan Maha-tshe from China, Sambhoṭa, Lha-lun dorje pal and other translators, for the great work of translation of the Buddhist scriptures from the Sanskrit and Chinese originals, in

17. Amazonian woman.

18. Lhasa, the temple of gods, from which the capital of Tibet derived its name Lhasa, and gTsuglag-Khañ is Kūtāgāra or a shrine.

the newly formed written language of Tibet. The king had no children by the two princesses, in consequence of which he was obliged to marry two more princesses from Ru-yon and Mon, named Je-Thi-kar and Thi-Cham. The latter gave birth to a prince named Guñ-ri-guñ-tsan, and the former to Mañ-Sron Mañ-tsan. When Guñri reached the thirteenth year of his age, the king abdicating the throne in his favour, retired into solitude to pass his days in meditation, but unfortunately the prince died at the age of eighteen when Sron-tsan was obliged to resume royalty. This latter period of his reign he signalized by his devotion to Buddhism. He constructed many religious edifices and sacred images, and organized a regular service by translating books on rites and ceremonies. At an advanced age he passed away from this world to be absorbed, says the Tibetan historian, in the Dharma Kāya (spirit) of the merciful Chen-re-ssig. His two beloved wives, the princesses of China and Nepal, who had strenuously supported him in the cause of religion, also left this worldly existence at the same time to accompany him to Tuṣita, the abode of joy. During the reign of this celebrated monarch there was no such institution as that of an ordained priesthood. History is not clear about it. Notwithstanding this, he succeeded in instructing his subjects in the ritualism of Hayagrīva, Śin-Je-Śe-(Yama). He concealed his will together with precious treasures for the use of remote posterity. He was a second time succeeded by his son Mañ-sron-mañ-tsan. Shortly after his son's accession the king of China, hearing that the incarnate monarch of Tibet was dead, sent a large army to invade Tibet. The Chinese soldiers were defeated by the Tibetans near Lhasa. With a view to take revenge on the Chinese king, the young king of Tibet assembled one hundred thousand Tibetan soldiers and sent them to invade China under the command of the veteran General Gar. In this audacious attempt the Tibetans were repulsed, and the old General perished in fight. Afterwards an immense Chinese army rushed upon Tibet with great uproar; in consequence of which the Tibetans were struck with panic. They concealed the gold

image of Śākyā, brought by the Chinese princess, in the southern niches of the great temple near the gate called Melonchan, and deserted Lhasa. Soon after, the Chinese army occupied the city and demolished the palace of Yumbu lagañ by setting it on fire. They succeeded in carrying Akṣobhya's image to some distance, but on account of its unwieldiness they left it behind after a morning's march. King Mañ-sron died at the early age of 27. He was succeeded by his son Du-Sron-maṇpo, who was young when placed on the vacant throne. The reign of this king was made remarkable by the appearance of seven heroes.¹⁹ What these heroes achieved for the state the Gyal-rab or the Debther Nonpo does not relate. Du-Sron maṇpo was succeeded by his son Me-Ag-tshom²⁰ born of his wife Chhim-ssah.

This king discovered an inscription on copper of his illustrious grandfather, king Sron-tsan Gampo, which contained the prophecy that in the fifth generation under the auspices of his great-grandson, bearing the surname of De, the Buddhist religion would greatly flourish. The king, believing himself to be the person alluded to, sent messengers to invite the two Indian Pandits, Buddha Guhya and Buddha Śānti, who were then residing near the Kailāśa mountain. But they declined the offer. The messengers, unsuccessful in their mission, returned to Lhasa, having committed to memory five volumes of the *Mahāyāna Sūtrānta*, which they subsequently reprodu-

19. (1) rNog-riṅla-nagpo raised a young elephant by its head.
- (2) rNog-liṅ-gam carried a yak on his back.
- (3) gNon-rGyal-mtshan and lva-rgod-lDon-btsan were experts & in archery. The former could shoot his arrow to three times the eyes' ken, and the latter could cut a flying hawk into two from below.
- (5) hGos-syag-chhuñ could whirl round a stag's skin filled with sand.
- (6) Chagro-hbroñ-shor chased a hbroñ or Don (wild yak) with awful speed on a steep precipice.
- (7) gNon-Khri-gyu-spyiñ ran his horse down a steep descent.
20. Ag-tshoms means beard, hence this king was called the shaggy king.

ced in their own language. The king erected five temples in five different places,²¹ and deposited one book in each. Besides these, he is also said to have erected other temples.

He obtained the volume of Buddhist scripture called *Ser-hod-tampa* from the province of Kun-shi in China, besides a few treatises on medicine, all of which he ordered to be translated into Tibetan. He invited several monk from Li-yul,²² with a view to introduce monkhood into Tibet, but failed, as nobody would come forward to take the vows of monkhood. He found the largest turquoise then known in the world, on the top of Tag-tse.²³ He married Thi-tsун, the princess of the Jain country by whom he had a son Jañtsha Lhapon. Queen Thi-tsун also bore the name of Nam-nañ. Prince Jañtsha Lha was famous for the extraordinary beauty of his person. His father sent ambassadors all over Tibet to find a match for him, but they all returned without success. At last he sent an ambassador to China, to propose a marriage between his son and the accomplished princess Kyim shan Kun-ju,²⁴ the daughter of the Emperor Wai-jun. The princess hearing the account of the extraordinary beauty of the Tibetan prince, prayed to her father to consent to the marriage, to which he at last acceded; and the

21. The following are the names of the places and of the temples erected in them.

- (1) Brag-dMar-Keru.
- (2) gSañ-mKhar-brag.
- (3) mChhuñs-phu-sna-ral.
- (4) Masa-goñ-gi-sha-khar.
- (5) Brag-mgrin-bSsañ.

22. Li-yul is identified with Nepal by the translators of *Kahgyur*. I have been able to ascertain that the ancient name of Nepal in Tibetan was Li-yul. Palpo is the modern name for the monastery of Palpa. Csoma identifies Li-yul with S.E. Mongolia.

23. A hill a few miles north of Lhasa.

24. I am not aware whether Kunju is a Chinese word, but the Tibetans address all Chinese princesses by the title of Kunju. Hence it appears to have the same import as *Kumāri* in Sanskrit or princess in English.

princess started for Tibet. In the meantime one of the Tibetan chiefs named Thi-ssañ, the chief of Nag, being offended with the king for not selecting his daughter for the prince's wife, treacherously murdered the prince. King Ag-tshom, therefore, at once despatched messengers to convey the melancholy news to the princess who was on her way to Tibet. The princess, deeply disappointed, did not like to return to China, but taking a fancy to see the snowy country of Tibet, and more especially the celebrated image of Śākyā, continued her journey to Tibet, where she was warmly welcomed by King Ag-tshom. She brought to light the hidden image of Akṣobhya, which during three generations had received no offerings, having been concealed under the gate Melonchan. Her beauty so much charmed the king that he at once proposed to marry her. The princess at first declined, but after long deliberation she yielded, and to the great wonder and joy of the people, the betrothed daughter-in-law became the bride of the father. She gave birth to the famous monarch Thi-sron-de-tsang (Khri-Sron-Ideu-btsan), believed to be the incarnation of Mañjuśrī, the god of wisdom and learning.

Chapter III.

THI-SRON-DE-TSAN. (730/33 A.D. to 866 A.D.)²⁵

This monarch, the most illustrious in the Buddhist annals of Tibet, was born, according to the Chronologist Buton, in the year 730 A.D. When he was in the womb, his mother saw in a vision that a saintly prince would be born of her. She, therefore, kept aloof from all sorts of defilement and unholy things, in consequence of which she remained happy and cheerful. During this time the old queen Nam-nañ, jealous of Queen Kunju, feigned pregnancy, by wrapping a

25. KHRI-SRON-IDEU-bTSAN.

cubit's length of cotton rag every day round her belly. Then, when the Chinese Princess' time for delivery came, Nam-nañ induced one of her midwives to give her a kind of anaesthetic liquor, through which Kunju became insensible and soon gave birth to a son, which the wicked Nam-nañ, by bribing the princess' maid, caused to be removed to her chamber, replacing it by a female child born on the same day of low parentage. As soon as she recovered her senses, Kunju was surprised to see a daughter instead of a son, about whom she had seen so many things in her dreams. Meanwhile, the report of Queen Nam-nañ's giving birth to a son reached the king and his ministers, who all came to witness the blessed child. Queen Kunju, who was not talked of at all, strongly suspecting her jealous partner but, in the absence of witnesses, being unable to charge Nam-nañ with any foul motive, kept her sorrows to herself. Some of the ministers, who knew the plot of the elder queen, did not venture to speak against her. Kunju, however, once complained to the king about the probable wickedness, but as Nam-nañ had by the agency of some drug produced milk in her paps, Kunju did not see the possibility of establishing her accusation, but burning with a spirit of revenge, tried to bring damnation on Tibet by means of her incantations, and wrote treatises construing astrology in a perverse way. In the third year of the prince's age, the King invited the maternal relations of the prince and the princess to a grand festive celebration.²⁶ When all the nobles, chiefs and ministers of the realm had assembled, the king seated the prince and the princess on either side and taking a cupful of wine in his hand, addressed the former : "My son, take this gold cup of wine and with your tender hands offer it to him who is your maternal uncle." To the utter amazement of all present, the prince at once presented it to the Chinese prince whom he thus addressed : "I, Thi-sron-de-tsang am thy nephew. Nam-nañ is not my mother, though she has nursed me for a period of three years. I now meet my uncle, and my heart

26. The Tibetans celebrate the anniversary of their birth.

rejoices to behold him." These words of the infant prince struck all the courtiers and ministers with wonder. Nam-nan's wickedness was now at last revealed, and she was overwhelmed with shame. Kunju was transported with joy when the king presented the child to her, and now exerted herself to avert some of the evils she had brought on Tibet by her incantations; but as she did not fully succeed in correcting astrology, it is alleged by several native historians that the Tibetans cannot make correct calculations.

A.D. 743-748. At the age of sixty-three the king died leaving the throne to the young prince, now thirteen years old. Thi-sroṇ applied himself to study and the critical examination of the ancient records contained in the Archives of the State. His ministers were divided into two factions, designated the "Buddhist" and the "Heretic" ministers. The first faction, or Chhoi-lon, advised the young king to encourage Buddhism, while their antagonists exhorted him to extirpate Buddhism from Tibet, which according to them had been productive of pernicious consequences. In spite of the opposition, the king, having a great inclination for Buddhism, sided with the former. The Buddhist party now, with the king's connivance, entered into a conspiracy against the life of Mashaṇ, the prime-minister. They bribed the soothsayers and astrologers to declare that some great calamity was imminent over the king, which could be averted only by two of the high officers of State entering grave-like cells and remaining there for a period of three months. The king, therefore, offered large presents to those who would undergo this self-sacrifice. The minister Mashaṇ volunteered to do so, and was followed by Gos the Buddhist minister. They both entered the cell, the depth of which was three times a man's length. At midnight, Gos's friends threw a rope into the grave, by means of which he climbed up and escaped. The unfortunate Mashaṇ was left alone there, to realize the horrors of the grave. His mortal enemies, the "Buddhist Ministers", blocked the mouth of the grave with a huge rock and buried him alive. As soon as the king came of age, he invited the Indian

Sage Śāntarakṣita and Paṇḍit Padma Sambhava from Udyāyāna to fill the whole country of Tibet with the blessings of the Buddhist religion. They suppressed the eight kinds of demons, nymphs and evil spirits. With the munificent assistance of the king, Padma Sambhava founded the great monastery of Samye (bSamyes). They also translated many works on *Sūtra* (or aphorisms) and *Tantra*. They constructed innumerable 'religious symbols', such as images of Buddhas and saints and chhortens (*chaitya*), and concealed many sacred treasures for the benefit of future generations. During the reign of this king, a Chinese sage named Hwashan Mahāyāna arrived in Tibet and, by interpreting in a strange way the theories of Buddhism, converted the ignorant classes of men to his tenets. The king, harbouring great doubts as to the correctness of Hwashan's theories, invited Paṇḍit Kamalaśīla from India to expose his fallacies. Kamalaśīla held long controversies with Hwashan and in the end defeated him. The king put down the Bon religion and persecuted all unbelievers in Buddhism. He enforced clerical laws and instituted codes of civil and criminal justice for the good government of his people. His statutes were written on large tablets and proclaimed all over the country. He had several wives, among whom Tshe-poṇ-Ssah was his favourite, by whom he had three sons. After a prosperous reign of 46 years, at the age of 59, he passed away from the abodes of men. He left three sons, of whom the eldest Muni-tsampo succeeded him on the throne.

During the infancy of Muni-tsampo the state affairs were conducted in his name by his pious ministers. He commenced his independent reign with a generous determination of raising all his subjects to the same level. He ruled that there should be no distinction between poor and rich, humble and great. He compelled the wealthy to share their riches with the indigent and helpless, and to make them their equal in all the comforts and conditions of life. Thrice he tried this experiment, but every time he found that the poor returned to their former condition; the rich becoming richer still, and the poor, by growing more indolent and wretched, turning poorer still.

The Pañjis and Lochāvas attributed this curious phenomenon to the consequence of the good and evil acts of their former births. For the enlightened and humane beginning of his reign, Muni-tsampo was greatly loved by his people. He made large offerings to the great monastery of Samye and distributed alms to the indigent and helpless. But before a year and nine months had passed after this demonstration of devotion to the monastery, the promising king was poisoned by his mother, who perpetrated this foul act to place her youngest son on the throne. The second son Murug-tsampo's accession to the throne being considered inauspicious by the astrologers and soothsayers, the youngest son Mutig-tsampo, a boy eight or nine years old, received the crown. He is said to have miraculously received his lesson in sacred literature from the venerable Padma Sambhava. He ordered translations to be made from Sanskrit books of Buddhism, and built the temple of Dorje Vyin at Gyal-de-kar-chuṇ. After a long and prosperous reign, in which he strenuously exerted himself to promote the welfare and happiness of his people, he died at a good old age, leaving five sons, viz., Tsān-ma, Lha-je, Lhundub, Lañ-darma and Ralpachan. The first two of these seem to have reigned, if they reigned at all, for a few years, having fallen victims to the intrigues of the Buddhist ministers. The youngest Ralpachan, even from his childhood, gave excellent proofs of his intelligence and ability. His assiduity and aptitude for learning were very great. At the age of eighteen, he was raised to the throne by the Buddhist ministers of state who were very powerful, the opposition being nearly extinct through the continued and rigorous persecution of the late kings.

Chapter IV
RALPACHAN. 846/60 A. D.

This celebrated sovereign was born between 846 and 860 A.D. Immediately after his accession he sent offerings to the

different temples built by his ancestors. He built a new nine-storeyed temple, of which the three lower storeys were of stone, the three middle of brick, and the topmost three of wood. In the upper floors he kept Buddhist scriptures, images, and model chhorten (shrines). In the middle floors he accommodated the Pandits and translators of the holy writings, and the ground floors he reserved for the use of his court and state affairs. Although his ancestors had obtained many translations of Sanskrit works, yet not satisfied with them, he obtained fresh manuscripts from Magadha, Ujjayani, Nepal and China. Some of the ancient Sanskrit works being irregularly and inaccurately translated into the Tibetan language, which was still very imperfect, he invited the Indian professors of Sanskrit, such as Jīna Mitra, Surendra Bodhi, Śilendra Bodhi, Dāna Śīla and Bodhi Mitra to conduct the great work of translation. These great scholars, with the assistance of the Tibetan professors, named Ratna Rakṣita, Mañjuśrī Varma, Dharmarakṣita, Jina Sena, Ratnendra Śīla, Jaya Rakṣita, Kawapal-tseg (Kavadpal bTsegs), Chodo-Gyal-tshan (Chogro-Gyal-mtshan) and others, revised the anciently translated books, translated fresh manuscripts, finished those that were left unfinished, and simplified the abstruse and intricate portions of the Scriptures.

Ralpachan introduced standard weights and measures similar to those used in China, and thereby prevented fraudulent practices in commercial dealings. He enforced the canonical regulation of India for the discipline and guidance of the clergy, and commanded his lay people to follow the statutes as promulgated by his illustrious predecessors. Thinking that the propagation of religion depended much upon the predominance of the clergy, he organized many classes of priesthood. To each monk he assigned a small revenue derived from five tenants. His devotion to the priestly congregation was so great that he offered his own Ralpa or flowing locks to be turned into carpet-seats for the use of the Lamas. During the reign of this great monarch, there arose a dispute between Tibet and China. Ralpacham sent a powerful army

to invade China. Province after province of the celestial empire fell before his victorious arms and was annexed to Tibet. When the generals and champions of the contending nations had been slain in great numbers, the Hwashañ²⁷ and Lopan²⁸ interceded to put a stop to further bloodshed between the two monarchs, who were related to each other by ties of blood as uncle and nephew. A treaty was agreed upon. At a place called Guñgu-Meru the boundary of the two kingdoms was fixed, and stone obelisks and pillars were erected as boundary pillars, on which the terms of treaty between the belligerents were inscribed. It was agreed that the armies of neither kingdom should ever cross the boundaries marked, nor on any pretext encroach on each others territories. All differences being settled, the nephew and the uncle became friends. They also solemnly promised not to violate the conditions of the treaty. As living testimonies to their engagements, inscriptions were written on Doriñ, or high stone obelisks, erected at Lhasa, at the palace of Gya-Gyal and at Guñ-gu-Meru. From this time, perfect amity existed between the two nations, China and Tibet, on earth, says Debther-nonpo, as between the sun and moon in heaven. King Ralpachan's reign was celebrated also for the good administration of justice. He punished the wicked and rewarded the good. He suppressed the powerful and protected the weak. But by attempting to enforce the strict observance of the clerical and the kingly laws, he gave umbrage to the corrupt and sinful ministers. When unfortunately for the king, their power increased by the death of a few pious Buddhist ministers, two ruffians, who had an old grudge against the king, assassinated him by twisting his face towards the back, at the instigation of his brother. This was Landarma, whose claims to the throne were set aside by the "pious" ministers, and who is said to have been at the bottom of this foul plot. After the assassination of Ralpachan at the age of forty-eight, between

27. The Buddhist monks of the first class in China are called Hwashañ.

28. The Lochāvas and Pandit of Tibet are by abbreviation called Lo-pan.

908 and 914 A.D., Lāndarma ascended the throne. The celebrated historiographer Buton assigns this event to the first part of the ninth century, in his chronology.

LANDARMA

The last and perhaps the worst of the Tibetan monarchs, Lāndarma, commenced his reign by persecuting the Buddhists whom he considered his mortal enemies. He was joined in his wicked plans of persecution by his prime minister Batagna (*sBas-stag-snas*). He reviled the first Chinese Princess Hunshin-Kunju²⁹ as an evil goblin (*a yakṣīṇī*) who had brought the image of Śākyā Muni into Tibet. "It was for that inauspicious image", said he, "that the Tibetan kings were short-lived, the country infested with maladies, subjected to unusual hoar-frost and hail storms, and often visited by famines and wars". "When this image", continued he, "was being brought from the top of Rirab (Sumeru mountain), the gods were vanquished in a war with the demons. Śākyā's accession to power, first in India and afterwards in China, made the people unhappy and poor, by the demoralizing effect of his wicked teachings". To slander Buddha in such blasphemous language was his great delight, and in no discourse did he indulge himself so much as in reviling that holiest of holies. To avoid disgrace, the Pañdits and Lochāvas fled from Tibet. Those who failed to run away were robbed and oppressed. He obliged some of the monks to be householders, others he sent to the hills to hunt wild animals for him. He destroyed most of the Buddhist works. Some he threw into water, some he burnt, and some he hid under rocks. Not satisfied with demolishing the temples and monasteries of the country, he wrecked vengeance even on the sacred shrines of Akṣobhya and Śākyā. He tried to throw those two images into water, but some of his "pious" ministers having represented to him the difficulty of lifting those heavy things, he contented himself

by sinking them in sand. When he was told that the image of Maitreya was very sacred, he broke into loud laughter. When he was just going to break down Lhasa (the temple of Śākyā), Rimochhe (temple of Akṣobhya) and Samye, he was told that the guardian demons of those places would send plague and ruin upon him if he destroyed the temples. Being afraid of exciting the wrath of those dreaded spirits, he spared their charges, and contended himself with closing up their doors, by erecting mud walls. His ministers and flatterers, in order to please him, painted those walls with abominable pictures illustrative of the drunken and lustful moods of human depravity. When Lāndarma was thus engaged in overthrowing the sacred religion as well as its relics, the saint Lhalun-pal Dorje, while sitting in deep contemplation in the cavern of Yerpa-lhari mountain, saw a vision. The goddess Paldan Lhamo descending from heaven appeared before him and exhorted him in the following terms : "Oh saint, in these days there are none so powerful as thou. Wouldst thou deliver the country from the hands of that sinful tyrant Lāndarma ?" In the morning the saint inquired of his servant the condition of Tibet, upon which he was told the cruelties practised by Lāndarma. He then mounted his white charger whose body he had besmeared with charcoal, and dressing himself in a black robe with white lining; with no other weapons than an arrow and a bow in his hands, he arrived at Lhasa.³⁰ While the king was reading the inscription on the stone obelisk called Doriñ, the saint, as he was making his salutations, shot an

30. The sleeves of the assassin saint were unusually broad to make room for the bow and arrow. The king stood encircled by his ministers when the saint arrived, dancing in frantic jumps. They all ran to witness his curious dance. The King called to him to come near. The saint approaching prostrated himself to salute the monarch. In the first prostration he set the arrow and bow right, in the second he fixed the arrow to the bow, and in the third killed the king with it. Hence the origin of the Lama war dance and the use of broad-sleeved robes by the Tibetan Lamas.

arrow at the king's back, which pierced right through his body; then exclaiming, "I am the demon Ya-sher, and this is the way of killing a sinful king," he sped away on his horse. As soon as the king fell, his ministers and attendants cried : "The king is dead, the king is dead", and the mob ran after the assassin. But the saint, urging his fleet companion, shot off like a meteor. In crossing a river the coal-black colour of the horse was washed away, and it became white as snow. He then turning his robe inside out so as to show the white, flew as the god Nam-tho-Karpo and escaped, leaving his pursuers far behind.

The king pulled the reeking arrow out with both his hands, and in the agonies of death, when his proud heart was subdued with anguish, exclaimed : "Why was I not killed three years back that I might not have committed so much sin and mischief, or three years hence, to enable me to root out Buddhism from the country!" and died.

With Landarma ended the monarchy of Tibet founded by Nah-Thi-Tsanpo, and his descendants henceforth ceased to exercise universal authority over the whole of Tibet. The sun of royalty was set, and there rose numerous petty princes to shine with faded lustre in the pale realm of snowy Tibet.

Genealogy of the Tibetan Monarchs.

(416 B.C.)

NA-THI-TSANPO	(1)
married	
Nam-mug-mug	
Mug-thi-tsanco	(2)
married	
Sa-din-din.	
Din-thi-tsanco	(3)
married	
So-tham-tham.	

So-thi-tsanpo (4)
 married
 Dog-mer-mer.

Mer-thi-tsanpo (5)
 married
 Dag-Lhamo-karmo.

Dag-thi-tsanpo (6)
 married
 Srib-Lhamo.

Sril-thi-tsanpo (7)
 married
 Sa-tsang-lun-je.

These seven kings are known by the name of Namthi

Digum-tsanpo (8)
 married
 Lu-tsan-mer-cham.

The prime-minister usurped the throne and reigned for a few years.

Chya-thi-gyal or (9)
 Pu-de-guñ-gyal
 married
 Bom-than-mañ na.

These two (8 & 9) are known by the name of Per [Bar] kyi din

Esho-leg (10)
 married
 Mu-cham-Bramana.

De-sho-leg (11)
 married
 Lu-mañ-mer-mo.

Thi-sho-leg (12)
 married
 Tsan-mo-gur-mañ.

Guru-leg (13)

married

Tsho-mañ-don-ma.

Don-shi-leg (14)

married

Mañ-pu-mo.

Isho-leg (15)

married

Mu-cham-mad-leg.

These six kings are called Sai leg, meaning the "excellent of the land."

Ssa-nam-ssin-de (16)

married

Tsho-mañ-thi-kar.

De-phrul-nam-shuñ-tsan (17)

married

Se-nam-mañ-ma.

Senol-nam-de (18)

married

Lu-mo-mer-ma.

Senolpo-de (19)

married

Mo-tsho.

Denol-nam (20)

married

Thi-mañ-je na.

Denol-po (21)

married

Se-tsun-nañ-je.

De-gyal po (22)

married

Mañ-tsun-lug.gon.

De-tin-tsan (23)
 married
 Ni-tsun-mañ-ma-je.

These are well-known by the surname of De, which means the "commander" and corresponds to Sanskrit word Senā

Gyal-To-ri-loñ-tsan (24)
 married
 Di-tsun-chyan-ma.

Su-thi-tsan-nam (25)
 married
 Mañ-Jah-thi-kar

Thi-da-puñ-tsan (26)
 married
 Mañ-Jah-lu-ten

Thi-thog-Je-tsan (27)
 married
 Ru-yañ-Jah-ton-gyal-namo-tsho.

These are called the Tsan meaning "king".

LHA-THO.THO.RI-ÑAN-TSAN (28)
 (441 A.D.)
 married

No-so.mañpo.Je.

Thi-ñan-ssañ-tsan (29)
 married
 Bron-mo.

Bro-ñan-de-hu (30)
 married
 Chhin-ssah-lu-gyal.

Tag-ri-ñan-ssig (31)
 married
 Hol-gon-sañ-tsun-do-kar.

NAM-RI-SRON-TSAN (32)

married

Tsha-pon-ssah-Brithon-kar.

SRON-TSAN-GAMPO (33)

(617 A.D.) married four wives.

(1) Nepalese (2) Chinese (3) Tibetan princess (4) Princess
princess princess of Mon named of Ru-
Pal-ssah-thi. Hum-shin Ssah-thi-cham. yon in
Kun-ju. Tibet.

Guñ-ri-guñ-tsan (34)

married

Je-thi-kar.

Mañ-sron-mañ-tsan (35)

married

Do-ssah-thi-bo.

Dus-sron-nam-thul (36)

married

Chhim-ssah-tsan-mo.

Me-Ag-tshom (37)

married three wives.

(1) Janmo-thi-tsун (2) Nam-ñan. (3) Kyimshan-Kun-ju,
Jañtsha Lha-pon. daughter of the
Emperor of China.

THI-SRON-DE-TSAN (38)

married

Tshe-pon-ssah.

Three Sons :

a) Muni-tsango b) Murug-tsan po c) Mutig-tsan-po (39)
reigned for 1 set aside. wife's name not known
year and a few months after
which he was poisoned by
his mother.

[Five sons of Mutig-tsan-po]

<i>a) Tsan-</i>	<i>b) Lha-</i>	<i>c) Lhun-</i>	<i>d) Lañdarma : became</i>	<i>e) RAL-PA-</i>
<i>ma.</i>	<i>Je.</i>	<i>dub.</i>	<i>king between 908</i>	<i>CHAN</i>
			<i>and 914A.D., reigned</i>	<i>reigned up to</i>
			<i>three years, after</i>	<i>908-914 A.D.</i>
			<i>which he was assassi-</i>	<i>till assassina-</i>
			<i>nated by Lama Lha-</i>	<i>ted by Lan-</i>
			<i>luñ-pal dorje.</i>	<i>darma's men.</i>

1st wife

Thi-de Yum-ten.

2nd wife

Nam-de hOd-sruñ.

TIBET IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Chapter I

A.D. 917 TO 1270

The wicked Lañdarma had two wives, the elder of whom, perceiving that her partner was in the family-way, shammed herself to be pregnant. At the time of the younger's delivery, which took place at dusk, she clandestinely tried to kill, if possible, or steal away the new-born child, but failed in her wicked design on account of the presence of a lamp light. The child was therefore given the name of Nam-de hOd Sruñ of "one protected by light". The elder queen, to retrieve her failure, out of revenge, bought a beggar's child to whom she declared she had given birth on the previous evening. The Minister really wondered how she could have only yesterday, as she said, given birth to a child which had its teeth fully grown. But fearing to contradict the words of its mother, they gave it the name Thi-de Yumten or "one upheld by his mother."

During the interregnum, the Buddhist Ministers directed the affairs of the state. They endeavoured to revive all the religious institutions that were nearly extinct. They reinstated images in their former places and rebuilt the demolished monasteries and temples. Notwithstanding their feeble efforts to rebuild the edifice that had been ruthlessly pulled down by Lañdarma, Buddhism did not reach its former condition within seventy years from the death of Ralpachan. As soon as they came of age, the two sons of Lañdarma, quarrelled with each other for the possession of the throne. At last they divided the kingdom into two parts. hOd-sruñ took possession of Western Tibet, and Yumten of the Eastern Provinces. This unfortunate partition gave rise to incessant quarrels and disturbances, both the brothers constantly engaging in wars

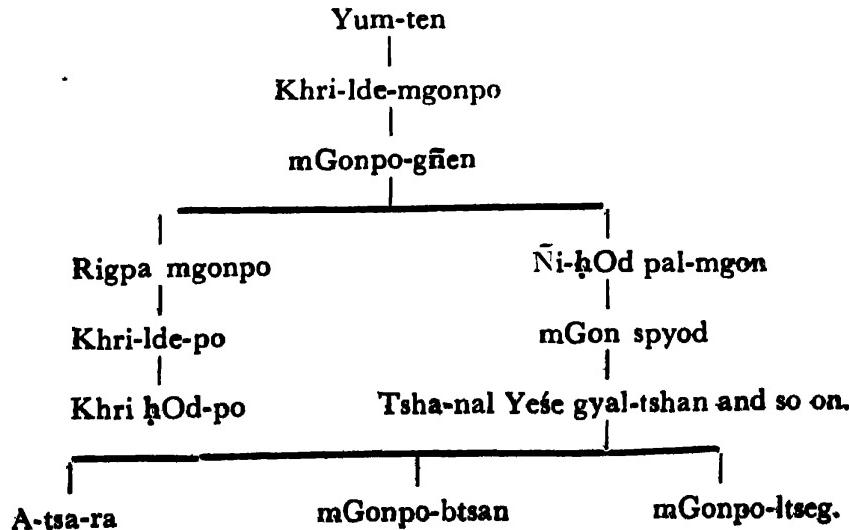
against each other.¹

Thus after the partition of the kingdom of Tibet, the descendants of Na-thi-tsango ceased to exercise universal sway over the country. They became weak and imbecile, in consequence of which they fell in the opinion and esteem of their subjects. hOd-sruṇ died at the age of 63 (A.D. 980). His son Pal Khor-tsang, after reigning thirteen years, died at the age of 31 (A.D. 993). He left two sons, viz., Thi Taśi Tsegpa-pal and Thi Kyi-de Ni-magon. The latter went to Nah-ri, of which he made himself master and founded the capital Puraṇ and built the fortress of Ni-ssun. He left three sons, of whom the eldest Palgyi Derigpa-gon declared himself king of Maṇ-yul; the second Taśi De-gon seized Puraṇ; and the youngest, named De-tsug-gon, became king of the province of Shaṇ-shuṇ (modern Guge). Detsug-gon left two sons, viz., Khor-re and Sroṇ-ne. The elder became a monk and changed his name to Yeše-hod.

Taśi-tsegpa, who succeeded to the throne of his father, had three sons, Pal-de, hOd-de, and Kyi-de.

This point of time is marked in the Tibetan History by the revival of Buddhism. Since the suppression of that religion

1. The following is the genealogical succession from Yumten :



by Landarma, no Indian Pañdit had visited Tibet. After a long interval the learned Nepalese interpreter, called in Tibetan Lero-tse, invited the Pañdit-s Thala-rinwa and Smṛti to Tibet, but unfortunately after his death, which happened soon afterwards, his friends had to pass many years in privation as vagabonds in a foreign land. People took no heed of them. Smṛti, in order to sustain life, betook himself to the occupation of a shepherd at Tanag. Afterwards becoming acquainted with the Tibetan language, he made his talents known. He visited Kham and conversed with the learned men of that place. He wrote a vocabulary of the Tibetan language, which he called the "weapon of speech". The revival of Buddhism in Tibet dates from 1013 A.D. The royal monk Yeše-hod² invited the celebrated Indian Pañdit Dharmapāla from Magadha, who arrived at his capital accompanied by three pupils, all of whom bore the surname of Pāla. With their assistance the king encouraged the teaching of religion, arts, and especially Vinaya.

Lhade, the son of Khor-re invited Pañdit Subhūti Śrīsānti who translated for him the whole of Śerchin.³ He appointed the illustrious translator Rinchhen-ssainpo as his chief priest. He left three sons, viz., hOd-de, Shi-va-hod, and Chyan chhub-hod. The last acquired great proficiency both in Buddhism and in heretical philosophies, and was very much attached to the great translator. He became an illustrious personage in Tibet. Being greatly interested in the restoration of Buddhism to its former glory, he thought it urgently necessary to invite an eminent Indian Pañdit who should be profoundly versed in all the Śāstra-s and particularly qualified in the three branches of Buddhism, viz., theory, meditation, and practice of rites and observances, besides possessing a thorough acquaintance with the five Buddhist learnings. He sent emissaries to India to see if such a man was to be found in Āryāvarta. Being informed by some of his ministers of the

2. i.e., Khor-re, the son of King Detsug-gon.

3. Prajñā-pāramitā.

great fame of Lord Atīśa, the king became anxious to invite him to Tibet. Accordingly he equipped an expedition under the leadership of Nagtsho Lochāva. He sent large quantities of gold and other valuable presents for this celebrated Pandit, in charge of his envoys. The party safely reached their destination, the city of Vikramaśīla, then the head-quarter of Buddhism in Āryāvarta, where they obtained an audience with the ruling king called in Tibetan Gya-tson-senje. After prostrating themselves, they laid their master's presents before Lord Atīśa, and related to him the history of the rise, progress and downfall of Buddhism in their mother country, and its recent revival therein. Under such circumstances, they represented, the cause of Dharma could not be promoted by any other Pandit than himself. They exhorted him to accept the invitation. The Lochāvas became his pupils and waited upon him as his servants. At last, after a long and careful consideration, Atīśa consented. Having consulted his tutelary deities, and the divine mother Tārā, and believing that if he went to Tibet, he would render valuable service for the diffusion of Buddhism, more particularly because it was predicted of him that he would be of great service to a certain great Upāsaka.⁴ Although the journey would be beset with dangers to his life, yet the aim of that life being devotion to the cause of religion and the welfare of living beings, he quitted his monastery Vikramaśīla, for Tibet, in the year A.D. 1042 at the age of 59. Arrived in Ŋah-ri he took his residence in the great Lamasery of Tho-diñ. He instructed the king in aphorisms and Tantras. Then gradually he visited U' and Tsan, where he turned the wheel of Dharma (preached religion). He wrote many useful Śāstras, such as *Lam-don* "the lamp of the true way." He died at the age of 73, in A.D. 1055. During the reign of Tse-de, the son of hOd-de, he assembled all the Lamas and monks

4. This was the celebrated Brom-ton Gyalwai Juñne, who succeeded Atīśa in the Pontifical chair of Tibet.

of U', Tsāñ and Kham, and introduced, at a grand convocation, the method of calculating time by the system of cycles of 60 years, called Rab-Jūn, obtained from Sambhala, a province in Northern India. He exhorted them to maintain the honour of Buddhism. During this period many learned translators, such as Ssan Kaar Lochāva, Rva Lochāva, Nan Lochāva, Loden Šerab, &c. were engaged in translating Sanskrit works (A.D. 1205). The sage Marpa, Mila Gonpo, and the famous Paṇḍit Śākyā Śrī of Kashmir, besides many other Indian Pandits who furthered the cause of Buddhism, belong to the following century. In the reign of Tagpa-de, the ninth in descent from Tsede,⁵ was constructed an image of Maitreya Buddha, which cost him 1200 Dot-shad or a million and a half of rupees. He also prepared an image of Mañjuśrī with seven "bre"⁶ of gold dust. His son Asode was a greater devotee than himself. He annually sent offerings and presents to the Vajrāsana at Buddha Gayā (Dorje-dan), which was continued even after his death. His grandson Ananmal prepared a complete set of the Kahgyur, written on golden tablets. Ananmal's son put the golden dome over the great temple of Buddha at Lhasa and constructed the image of the god at an immense cost. Ananmal's great-grandson was initiated into Buddhism by the Sakyapa Lamas and subsequently became king. A relation of the last king of this dynasty, named So-nam de (bSod-nams lde), accepted an invitation to become king, and under the title of Punya-mal held the government of Purañ.

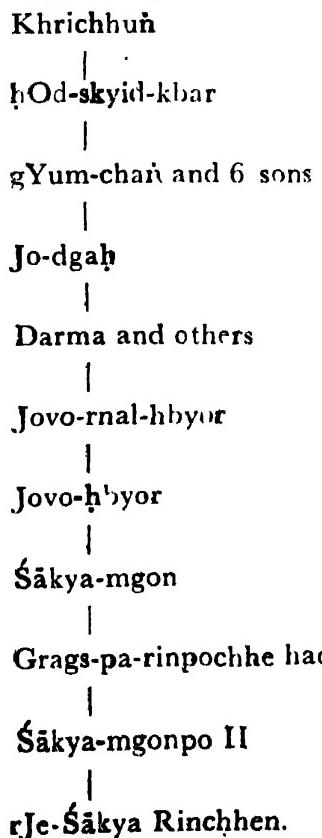
5. The following is the genealogical succession from Tse-de.

- (1) rTse-lde. (2) bBar-lde. (3) bKraśis-lde. (4) Bhane.
- (5) Nāga-deva. (6) bTsan-phug. (7) bKraśis lDe.
- (8) Grags-bTsan-lde. (9) Grags-pa-lde. (10) Aso-lde.
- (11) hJe-dar-rmal. (12) Anan-rmal. (13) Riḥu-rmal.
- (14) Sañ-ha-rmal. (15) hJe-dar-rmal. (16) 'A-hjin-rmal.
- (17) Kalan-rmal. (18) Par-btab-rmal with whom ended the line.

6. A Bre is a kind of measure equal to a 10th fraction of the English bushel.

The descendants of Palde (son of Taśi-tseg pa) made themselves masters of Gün-thān, Lugyalwa, Chyipa, Lha-tse, Lañ-luñ and Tsakor, where they severally ruled as petty chiefs. The descendants of Kyi-de spread themselves over the Mu, Jan, Tanag, Ya-ru-lag and Gyal-tse districts, where they ruled as petty princes over their respective possessions. ḥOd-de left four sons, viz., Phab-de-se, Thi-de, Thi-chhuñ⁷ and Nag-pa. The first and fourth became masters of Tsan-roñ, the second son took possession of Amdo and Tsoñkha, the third son Thi-chhuñ became king of U' and removed the capital to Yar-luñ. The fifth descendant of Thichhuñ, named Jovo Nal-Jor, patronized the Lamas Chyen-na Rinpoche and Pal Phagmo Du-pa. The seventh descendant Śākyā-gon was a great patron of the celebrated Śākyā Pañdita. The ninth descendant, named Tag-pa Rinpoche, accompanied the illustrious Phagpa on his visit to the Emperor of China and obtained Imperial patents. He built the palace of Tag-khai-Phodāñ,

7. The following is a genealogical table of Thi-Chhuñ (Khri Chhuñ):



and was well-known for his veneration of the Buddhist congregation. He was succeeded by his son Śākyā Gonpo II., who was a friend of Leg-gyal-tshan, another eminent translator of Sanskrit books. He added another monastery to the Yumbu-Lagāñ palace.

TIBET AS A DEPENDENCY OF MONGOLIA AND CHINA

All the descendants of Thi-chhun with few exceptions were weak sovereigns. As soon as the great and mighty warrior Chhengis Khan came, the whole of Tibet without much resistance succumbed to his power in the beginning of the 13th century. The different chieftains and petty princes became his abject vassals. Jengis Khan, variously called Chhengis Khan, Jengir-gyalpo or Thai-Dsun, was the son of a well-known Khalkha prince named Ye-phorga Bahdur, by his wife, the princess Hulan or Khulan. He was born according to Tibetan chronology in A.D. 1182. At the age of thirty-eight he ascended the throne of his ancestors, and during a warlike career unparalleled in history, which extended over twenty-three years, he conquered almost the whole of Asia, viz., India, China, Tibet, &c. He died on the 61st year of his age, in the arms of his queen, leaving many sons, among whom Gogan was the most powerful, being the ruler of the eastern portion of his dominions. Gogan's two sons, Godan and Goyugan, invited Sakya Pandita to their court. From that event the abbots of Sakya monastery date a new era in the politics of Tibet, as well as in the religious belief of the blood-thirsty Mongols.

Chapter II
SAKYA HIERARCHY,⁸ A.D. 1270-1340

The great Khublai,⁹ first Mongol Emperor of China,

8. Genealogical table of the Sakyapa regents.

- (1) Šākyā-bssanpo
- Kungəh-ssañpe
- (2) Shañ-btsun
- (3) Ban-dkarpo
- (4) Chyan-rin bsKyos-pa
- (5) Kun-gshan
- (6) gSañ-dvañ
- (7) Chyañ-rdor
- (8) Anlen
- (9) Legs-pa-dpal
- (10) Señ-ge-dpal
- (11) hOd-sserdpal
- (12) hOd-sser-señge
- (13) Kun-rin
- (14) Don-yod-dpal
- (15) Yon-btsun
- (16) hOd-sser-Senço No. 2
- (17) rGyal-va-ssañpo
- (18) dBañ-phyug-dpal
- (19) bSod-nam-dpal
- (20) rGyal-va-Tsan-po II
- (21) Wañ-btsun.

9. Khublai means the incarnate or one of miraculous birth.

invited to his court Sakya Pandita's nephew Phagpa Lodoi Gyaltshān, who accordingly visited China in the 19th year of his age. On the first visit, the Emperor presented him with gold patents and seals, jewellery of gold and pearls, a crown studded with precious stones, an embroidered umbrella with a gold handle, a banner of cloth of gold, besides other presents in gold and silver ingots. Phagpa was appointed the Emperor's spiritual guide to teach him the truths of Buddhism. The Emperor, in return for his services presented him with the possession of (1) Tibet proper, comprising the thirteen districts of U' and Tsān, (2) Kham and (3) Amdo. From this time the Sakyapa Lamas became the universal rulers of Tibet. The illustrious Phagpa now became well-known by the name of Do-gon Phagpa. After a residence of twelve years in China with the Emperor, he returned to Sakya.

During his residence at Sakya, which extended over three years, he prepared fresh copies of the Kahgyur and Tangyur, all of which by his order, were written in gold. By extorting subscription from all his subjects of the thirteen districts,¹⁰ he erected a lofty temple at Sakya. He also constructed a gigantic gold image of Buddha, a high chhorten of solid gold, and innumerable images of other materials, and distributed

10. The following are the 13 districts of Tibet proper :

6 districts of Tsān.

- 1&2. North and South Lato (Lostod).
3. Gurmo (pronounced Kurmo)
4. Chhumiān
5. Shañ
6. Shalu

6 districts of U'.

1. Gyama
2. Diguñ
3. Tshal-pa
4. Thāñ-po-chhe-va
5. Phag-du
6. Yah-Sāñ.

The 13th district is that of Yaru Dag containing Ya-dotsho or the Yam-do-chho between U' and Tsān.

alms and food to one hundred thousand monks. At the invitation of the Emperor, he re-visited China. This time, too, he won the esteem of the Emperor, who loaded him with presents, honours and titles. He was decorated with the proud title of "Tisri". On his return he brought 300 Bre of gold, 3000 of silver, 12,000 satin robes and many other precious articles, such as imperial bounty could shower on him. Of all the Sakyapa Lamas, this was undoubtedly the most illustrious and fortunate. Under his successors, who for many years ruled the country, owing to the imbecility of the regents, the prosperity of the people was greatly impeded, chief and nobles fighting and quarrelling with each other. The Sakyapa hierarchs were mostly puppets in the hands of the regents. Among these regents very few deserve notice, and they all frequently embroiled the country in feuds, and themselves in war with each other. Quarrelling, not to speak of insubordination, was the order of the day. Conspiracy, assassination and murder, were rampant everywhere.

The forth regent named Chyañ-rin-kyopa obtained a patent from the Emperor of China, soon after which he was assassinated by his servant. The administrations of two of his successors were rendered memorable by the revision of the laws of the country. Aglen, the eighth regent built the outer walls of the Sakya monastery. He also built two monasteries called Khañ-sar-liñ and Pon-po-ri, the latter situated on a monastain of the same name. During the Sakyapa supremacy the Di-guñ (*hBri-guñ*) monastery became very powerful, both in spiritual and temporal matters. It was patronised by the districts of Shiiñ-chyar, Dvag, and Konpo, and contained 18,000 monks. There exist in it the biographies of its abbots and many historical records connected with its former splendour and power. During the great dispute between it and its jealous sister, the Sakya monastery, the regent Anlen sent all his troops to plunder it and burn it down. When the monastery was set on fire, many of the monks escaped; some, it is

said, miraculously fled towards heaven, while those who failed to run away were scorched and burnt. Owing to this great calamity, the monastery was reduced to a deplorable condition, but after a few years it was restored to prosperity. During its quarrel with the Gelugpa sect, it was again humbled. Its present condition is the same as that of the Sakya monastery. Anlen died on his return journey towards Sakya. Wañtsun, the last of the regents, was involved in a quarrel with his Prime Minister of the family of Phag-du-pa, the most powerful chief of that age. In the war, Phag-du was victorious. Thus the power of the Sakya hierarchs became extinct after 70 years' reign only.

Chapter III
SECOND MONARCHY 1340—1635 A.D.

Tibet a Dependency of China.

As the power of Sakya waned, the power of her rivals Di-guñ, Phag-dub and Tshal increased. They gradually became most powerful. In the year 1302 A. D., the famous Ta-gri named Chyañ-chhub-Gyaltshan, well-known by his other name of Phag-mo-du, was born in the town of Phagmo-du.¹¹

II. He was the son of Rin-chhen-skyabs, the chief of Phag-mo-du and Khri-smon-**b**Bum-skyid. The following is the genealogical succession of his dynasty :

(1) Phag-mo-du (Tisri) or king Situ		(8) Rin-chhen-rdorje Wañ
(2) b Jam-dvyañ-gu-sri-chhenpo		(9) Pal-nag-Wañ
(3) Grags-pa-rinchhen		(10) Nañ-wañ-bKra-śi
(4) bSod-nams Grags-pa		(11) Nañ-wañ Grags-po
(5) Šakya-Rinchhen		(12) Namber-gyalpo
(6) Grags-pa-rgyalthsan		(13) bSod-nams Wañ-phyug
(7) dVyañ Grags- b byuñ-ne		

After subjugating all the thirteen districts of Tibet proper and Kham he established his dominion over Tibet. When only three years of age, he learnt to read and write. At six, he was instructed in religious books by Chho-kyi-tonchan Lama. At seven, he took the vows of an Upāsaka from Lama Chyan-na. At the age of fourteen he visited the Sakya monastery where he obtained an interview with the grand Lama, Dag-chhen Rinpoche, which he effected by presenting a handsome pony. He stayed at Sakya for some time. Once when the grand Lama was sitting at dinner, he called Phag-mo-du to his presence and gave him a gold dish full of food, and assured him that by the grace of the gift he should one day become a great man. At the age of seventeen he passed his examination in letters. At the age of eighteen he was appointed to the command of 10,000 soldiers by patents from the Emperor of China, and entrusted with a seal for his own use; this sudden elevation of Phag-mo-du excited the jealousy and enmity of the chiefs of Di-guñ, Tshal, Yah-Sañ and Sakya, who spared no pains in devising means to ruin him. At last they drove him to war. In the first battle he met with some reverses, but was victorious in the second. The war lasted for many years, when ultimately victory attended the arms of Phag-mo-du, who captured almost all the hostile chiefs and threw them into prison. After this great defeat the chiefs, nobles and Lamas of U' and Tsan, jointly petitioned the Imperial Court of Pekin to degrade the upstart. They represented that Phag-mo-du treated with violence the chiefs and generals of Tibet and especially the Sakyapa authorities whom he had thrown into prison. Phag-mo-du, presenting the skin of a white lion, besides other rich and rare presents, to the famous Tho-gan-thu-mer, then Emperor of China, represented the circumstances connected with the case. Pleased with his sincere statements, the Emperor decided in his favour and furnished him with renewed patents and seals and bestowed on him, to be enjoyed as hereditary possessions, the province of U', leaving Tsan to the Sakyapas.

After his return to Tibet, he organized a regular form of

government. He reformed the legislation, and revised the ancient laws and regulations. He revised the canons and the ancient laws of kings Sron-tsan Gampo and Thi-sron, which had been discarded by the Sakyapa rulers. He built a castle on Nedon-tse hill and a large fortress with three gates to the ramparts. He refused admission to women to its interior. He himself practised abstinence by refraining from the use of wine and the habit of taking afternoon-meals, as prescribed in the Vinaya class of scriptures. He endeavoured to observe the ten virtues mentioned in the sacred books. By his exemplary morals and piety, and above all by his beneficial rule, he won the sincere esteem of his subjects. He founded the monastery of Tse-than, and admitted a large number of priests into it. He prepared a copy of the Kahgyur in gold characters. He built thirteen forts such as Goñkar, Bragkar, &c. During the supremacy of Phag-mo-du the Sakyapa authorities and chiefs, on account of their imbecility and internal dissensions ceased to exercise authority over their subjects. They were also sunk in debt, and during their rule, they had debased the ancient laws of Tibet by an admixture of Chinese and Mongolian laws. It was by these injudicious proceedings that they created dissatisfaction among the people and forfeited the confidence of their subjects. Phag-mo-du having represented all these various acts of imbecility to the Court of Pekin, the Emperor permitted him to annex the remaining parts of Tibet and Kham to his possessions, in order by his rule to increase the happiness and prosperity of the people. This monarch is famous under the title of King Situ. He now became the undisputed master of the whole of Tibet. He made ten million cast images. The fourth in descent from Phag-mo du was Šakya Rinchhen, who became a favourite minister of the Emperor Tho-gañ-thu-mer by whom he was entrusted at first with guarding the palace and afterwards with the collection of revenue from one of the great provinces of China. Šakya Rinchhen, instead of showing his gratefulness to the Emperor, he sent many wagons, loaded with armed soldiers concealed under decorations of silk clothes and silver and gold. By this

means many soldiers entered into the imperial palace. When the Emperor discovered the plot, he fled towards Mongolia by the back-door of the palace. The Prime Minister usurped the throne, from which date China passed into the hands of a native dynasty.

Thus the house founded by the illustrious Khublai ceased to bear sway in China. The throne passed to the traitor Kyen Hun, whose son Yun Min was proclaimed Emperor. Min presented Tagpa Gyaltshan, son of Śakya Rinchen, with gold and crystal seals, and the additional possessions of Kham and Amdo, and several suits of kingly robes. He was made the undisputed sovereign of all Tibet which now extended from Naḥ-ri-kor-sum to the western boundary of Kham.

Tagpa Gyal-tshan was succeeded by his son Vaṇ-juṇ-ne who was recognised by the Emperor Kyen-thai Li Wan. He prepared a complete set of the Kahgvur written on gold tablets. Tagpa Gyal-tshan was a great friend of the great reformer Tsonkhapa, whom he assisted with great liberality and zeal. He prepared two sets of the Kahgyur in gold, one in an alloy of gold and silver, and three written in ink. He also prepared 1,00,000 copies of Dhāraṇīs. For years he supported 1,00,000 monks at his own cost. He built the fortresses of Hu-yug-liṅ and Karjoṇ. His grandson Rin-dorje obtained the title of Waṇ (king) from China. Nan-Waṇ Tasi was a very impartial and just king. He shewed great veneration for the Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatsho, whom he greatly patronized. The celebrated Bhutan Dharma Rāja named Padma Karpo was also his friend. He himself was well versed in Buddhist literature, and impartially respected all classes and religions, and built chaityas in Lhasa and other places. He several times fought with his rebel minister Rin-chhen Puṇpa and was every time successful. He was adorned with the title of Kwa-din-kau-sri, by the Emperor of China.

Thus during the reign of the Phag-mo-du dynasty all Tibet enjoyed peace and prosperity. People became rich in money and cattle. The country enjoyed immunity from famine and plague, and was not harassed by foreign invasion, being un-

der the protection of China, and more particularly under the benign rule of the kings of this dynasty. Although some petty fights and quarrels with the disaffected and rapacious ministers now and then disturbed the peace of the kingdom, yet on the whole the dynasty was most beneficial to Tibet. From the time of Nam-bar Gyal-van's reign, the chiefs and nobles of U' and Tsān constantly waged war with each other, in consequence of which the power of the king waned to a great extent. At this critical time the king of Tsān became very powerful and by taking advantage of the reigning king's weakness gradually became *de facto* sovereign of Tibet. He brought the whole of U' and Tsān under his dominion. Thus when fortune was about to turn towards the proud king of Tsān, suddenly the Mongolian warrior Gusri Khan invaded Tibet and speedily completed its conquest. Gusri Khan presented the Fifth Dalai Lama with the monarchy of all Tibet. From that event, in the year 1645 A. D., dates the Dalai Lama's supremacy.

Chapter IV MINISTERS AND POWERFUL NOBLES OF TIBET

I. The Family of Rinchhen-puñ-pa.

Ñah-thi-tsango, the first king of Tibet, chose for his minister one of the most powerful and intelligent Tibetan chiefs, whom, owing to his imperfect knowledge of the Tibetan language, he used to call Khye-hu (or the little man). He was afterwards called by his proper name of Gerpal-leg-po. He had three sons, viz., Chhyi Ger, Ñan-Ger and Dub-thob Ger. The twenty-seventh descendant of Ñan Ger, named Ralpa Ssin, obtained seven boat-loads of turquoises from Gruguiyul.

The famous Thon-mi Sambhoṭa was a descendant of Chhyi Ger. Among the descendants of Dub-thob Ger, many illustrious minister were born : Gar, the celebrated prime-minister of king Sroñ-tsan-Gampo, Go, Shañ-shi, Da-gyal-

-tshan, &c., the ministers of Thi-sroñ-deu-tsan, were among them. The great saint Vairo-tsana was descended from Dub-thob-Ger. Mashan and other enemies of Buddhism also belonged to his family. One of the descendants of Dub-thob Ger became prime-minister of King Tagpa Gyaltshan of the dynasty of Phag-mo-du. He obtained the Joñponship of Rin-chhen Puñ, the generalship of Chhumig, and afterwards became the highest official under the Sakyapa authorities. His son and grandson Norpu Ssañpo succeeded him in his dignities. The latter became the commander of the army and headed many of the chieftains of Tibet. He founded the monastery of Ron-Tsham-chhen and became the chief patron of the First Dalai Lama Gedun-Dub. He left five sons, the eldest of whom became the prime-minister of Wan Tagpo-juñne, and succeeded to his father's dignities, favoured the Sakyapa school, and founded the monastery of Thub-tan Nam-gyal at Tanag. He was succeeded by his son Don-yo-ge.

Don-yo being entrusted with the command of the army recovered the towns of Bragkar, Chhu-shul and Lhunpo-tse from the hands of Nelva. He favoured the Karmapa sect of the ancient school of Buddhists, in furtherance of whose cause he founded the Yanpa Chan monastery. He sent an army to subjugate Kyid-śod, but it was repulsed by the Ga'-dan forces which came to assist the aggrieved party. His son Nag-wañ-namgyal became the prime-minister to King Pal Nag-wañpo-and was a great warrior and scholar. He incurred the displeasure of the king by having tried to employ the army under his command to take possession of E'Nal, in consequence of which he lost his possessions in U'. He, however, retrieved this loss by fresh acquisitions in another quarter, for Señgetse, Lato, Lho and other places, came under him. He patronized the monastic institutions of Tsan. He left three sons, of whom the second, called Ton-dub Dorje, succeeded him in his dignities and possessions. This young chief was also a valiant warrior. He obtained possession of Lhun Dub-tse-joñ and founded the monastery of Ssañ-rab-liñ. He became acquainted with the dogma of the Dsogchhenpa

class of the Niñma school. The youngest Nag-wañ Jig-grag also became a very learned man who wrote many works such as a history of Tartar kings, a Romance of Sambhala, and many other poetical narrations. His son Da-Ssañpo inherited his property and dignities. In his old age, many of his subject chiefs having deserted him, he became poor.

II. The House of Shon-nu Ssañ-po, the Tartar (Hor).

This family traces its origin to the royal races of the city of Sahore in ancient India. Dharmāsoka, king of Magadha, who was born of the family of king Daśaratha, built one million chhortens, and performed other religious acts showing his great piety. His son Jaya also received many miraculous blessings from heaven by means of his prayers. One of his illustrious descendants, named Indrabhūti, king of Sahore, became well-versed in the Tantras and ultimately attained sainthood.

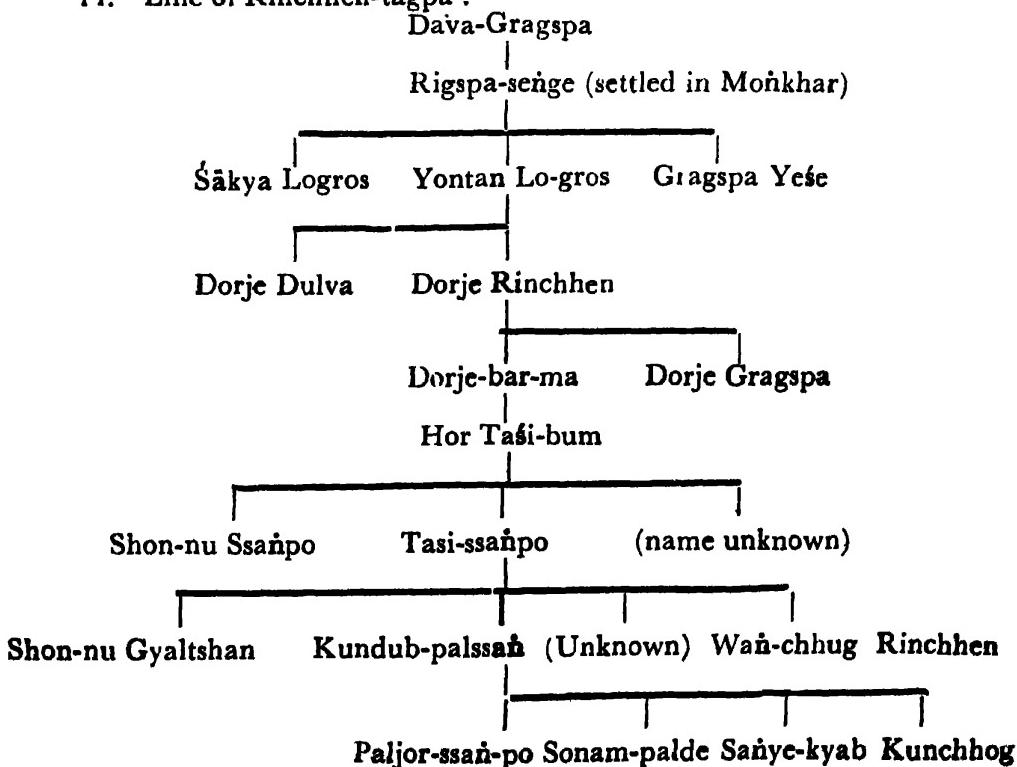
His grandsons Dharma-rāja, Śānta Rakṣita, and granddaughter Mandaravā, were famous for their devotion to Buddhism. The second, Śānta Rakṣita, being profoundly read in five classes of Buddhist scriptures, was sent over to the snowy country of Tibet to lay the foundation of Buddhism. Then Mandaravā became a saintly fairy. She was the reputed wife of Padma Sambhava. Dharmarāja succeeded to the throne of his father. He left three sons, Dharmapāla, Śākyadeva and Mahādeva. During this period, king Thi-sron-deu-tsān, in order to found the monastery of Samye invited Padma Sambhava from India. Arrived in Tibet the illustrious sage invoked the Nāgas to guard the institution against attacks from malignant spirits and malicious folk, but they having expressed their inability to undertake such a serious charge, Padma Sambhava, sitting in Yoga, invoked the prince of genie well-known by the name of Pehar. But as the genie was reluctant to go over to Tibet having for master Dharmapāla,¹² the king of Sahore, king Thi-sron Deu-tsān sent an

12. This appears to be a legendary account of the famous Dharmapāla of Magadha.

Ambassador with such presents as a turquoise image of Buddha, musk and crystal, to invite them both to Tibet. After meeting with great hardships the party arrived in India. King Darmapāla accepted the Tibetan king's proposal. King Thi-sroñ-deu-tsang appointed him as his chief spiritual guide and minister, and gave him large jagirs. The demon Pehar Gyalpo¹³ was bound, by a solemn oath to protect the Buddhism of Tibet. He was so vigilant and quick a guard that he could detect and pursue a thief who, after stealing anything as small as a needle from Samye, could fly eighteen times faster than an eagle. Dharmapāla married the fairy Phoyoun-ssah by whom he got two sons—Pal Dorje and Rinchhen Dorje. The younger, turning a hermit, visited India and died in the city of Sītā miraculously. The elder married a Tibetan lady by whom he got three sons—Rinchhen-tagpa, Dorje-tagpa, and Chho-kyi-tagpa. The youngest became a monk. The eldest Rinchhen-tagpa had a son of the name of Da-va-tagpa.¹⁴

13. According to the majority of Tibetan historians, Pehar was invited from the Western country of Urgyen, which is identified with Gazni and Balk.

14. Line of Rinchhen-tagpa :



Da-va-tagpa's eldest son Rigpa-senje, settled in the Moñ-khar country, and inherited his possessions and office. He became minister to the reigning king. Shon-nu ssañpo and Taši-ssañpo were ministers of king Situ, the founder of the Phag-mo-du dynasty of kings. The eldest was the general who defeated the Sakyapa armies at the battle of Yarlun; in consequence of which Sakya, Tsan, Jañ and Lhomañ came under his master's possession. Paljor Ssañpo, the last mentioned in the table, became Joñpon of the town of Ñañ-sam Dub-tse. He signalized himself in a war, and was a great friend of the first Dalai Lama Gedun dub.

Rinchhen-tagpa, probably a son of Paljor Ssañpo, became chamberlain to king Wan>tag-gyaltshan, a descendant of king Situ. His younger brother became versed in Tāntrik ceremonies and is said to have possessed great influence over clouds and winds. He rendered immense good to the country by bringing down rain in times of drought. Rinchhen-tagpa's son, Hor Taši Dorje, became minister of king Wan>tagpa Juñne and founded the monastery of Rivo-de-chhen. He left two sons: Tse wañ-namgyal and Rinchhen Gyaltshan. The first was a professor of Buddhism. The youngest, being a wise and learned man, was elected chief minister of state. He was appointed Secretary to the Commission which sat to settle the great dispute which took place between U' and Tsan. At its conclusion, when matters were brought to a happy close, he was rewarded with a large jagir consisting of three towns. His eldest son was appointed General of the king's army and the second son was appointed Prime-minister. The eldest left two sons, viz., Sonam-Targe and Tonduñ Dorje. The younger turned an ascetic and the elder became the minister who patronized the Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatsho. His son Sonam-targe obtained the town of Lha-tse Joñ as jagir from the king.

III. rGyal-khar-rtse-pa.

This is an ancient family of Kham descended from Da-gyo-loñ, a famous warrior mentioned in the great Tibetan epic

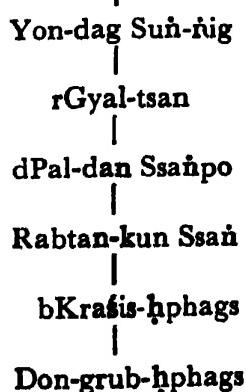
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called the Gyaldruñ, who tamed the savage men of Kham. His dress consisted of 100 tiger skins. He married the daughter of Qesar, the hero of that great epic. One of his descendants was Nam-kha-chyañ-chhub,¹⁵ whose son Yon-dag-suñ-nig was a powerful Tantrik. His son Gyal-tsān knew several languages and was a Buddhist scholar. He wrote several works and favoured the Karmapa sect of the old school. He built the monastery of Tshurphu called Chyañ-chhub-chhenpo. Paldan Ssañpo, his son was an official of high rank under the Sakyapa hierarchy. He was sent as ambassador to the Tartar Emperor of China, and returned successful from his mission. He erected the forts of Tse-chhen, Phag-ri, Gyaltse, Nave and Khyuntse, and a monastery at Tse-chhen. Rabtan Kun-Ssañ, his son, became minister to king Tagpa-gyal-tshan. He defeated the troops of Namkha-gyalpo, the chief of Rinchhen Puñpa, and made them prisoners of war. He patronized Panchhen Rinpoche, Kha Dub Ge-leg-pal Ssañ. He founded the famous monastic institution of Gyaltse called Palkhorchho-de with eighteen schools in it, and erected the picturesque chhorten of Gyaltse called Chhorten Taśi-Gomañ, which has 108 doors and is several stories high. He was famous for his devotion to religion and was the most celebrated king of Gyal-tse.

IV. Chya-Thi-pon. (The bird-general)

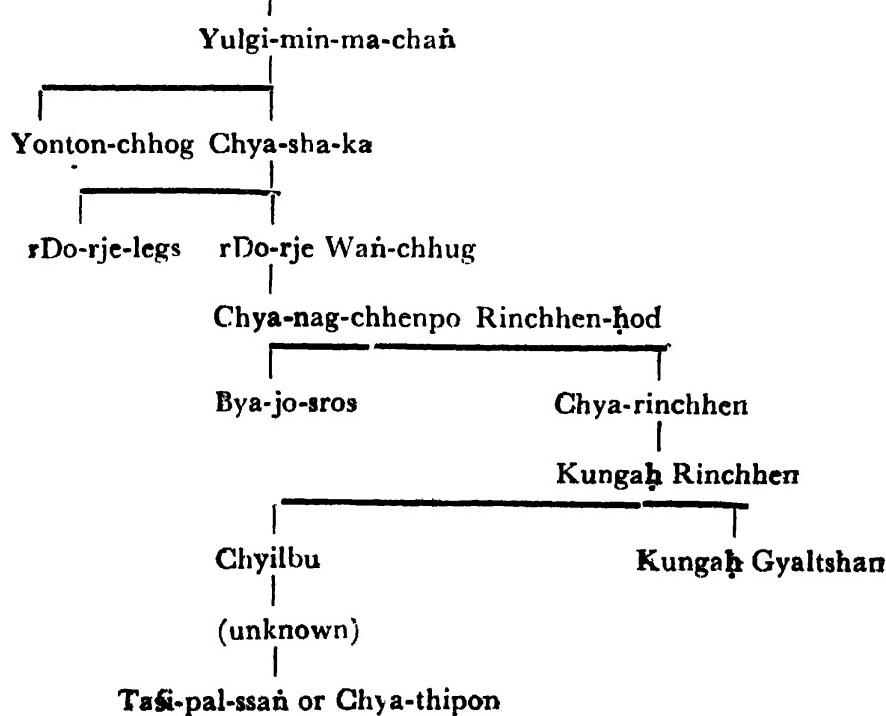
Once upon a time in the lower Yar-luñ District north of Lhasa, a very handsome maiden was met by a splendid looking

15. Namkha-Ihun-grub



bird, who captivated by her personal charms had descended from his aerial residence. After some time spent in happiness with the bird she gave birth to a son named Chya-mig¹⁶ who became a great supporter of Buddhism. Yon-ton chhog, grandson of Chyamig, was a learned man and well-known by the name of Yar-khanpo. Dorje-wañ-chhug, his nephew, went towards Ñāñ and founded the town of Gyam-tsho. Dorje's son Lama Chya-nag was a pupil of Śākyā Śrī Pañdita of Kashmir, who became a renowned teacher and founded the monastery of Yañ-tse. His second son Chya-Rinchhen, after repelling many Tartar armies, became the chief of Enyal. His son Kungah Rinchhen became a minister of Kungah Ssañpo, the regent under the Sakyapa Lamas. He was a pupil of Dogon Phagpa. He left four sons of whom the first Kungah Gyaltshan was appointed minister to the Sakyapa regent Hod-sser-señge. The second son Chyilbu, being a nephew of the chief of Diguñ, was appointed Jonpon of Chyar Dag. His son became abbot of Ssañmochhe, whose grandson Taśipal Ssañ became the general of king Tagpo Gyaltshan, under the title of Chya Thipon. Taśi's son, Gyal-wa Taši, became secre-

16. Chva-mig-megeb-chañ



tary to the king and inherited his father's titles and dignities. Gyal-wa's son Taśi Dargya was appointed General of Lhogyud Lun by the king. He prepared a set of the *Kahgyur* in gold characters, constructed many images and chhortens and did many pious acts. From him the title of Chya Thipon obtained its celebrity. The last men of this dynasty served as deputies to the kings of Phag-mo-du dynasty.

V. Secretary Tag-pa Ssañpo.

Ñan-Tagpa Ssañpo of a family descended from Vañ-phug Ñan, the secretary to king Thi-sron deu-stan, was born in the Eastern district of Tsen-thań. He became one of the ministers of king Situ. His son Šerab Taśi served as an envoy to the Tartar Emperors of China, from the Sakypa and Tshalpa Lamas. He was a devoted minister, who in the discharge of his duties did not fear to risk his life. Honesty and self-denial were his prominent virtues. He conducted his affairs personally before the celebrated Thugan themur. He returned to his master's presence, having successfully accomplished his mission, with the imperial patent in his hand issued in favour of his master king Situ. Pleased with his conduct, the king presented him with the town and fort of Tag-kar. His son Rinchhen Pal Ssañ succeeded him as Joñ-pon and was a sincere patron of the great reformer Tsonkhapa. He helped him greatly in the building and establishment of the Gah-dan monastery.

VI. Nelva.

Rinchhen Ssañpo was a minister of king Situ. In the Sakya war, he made the regent and other chiefs of the Sakya hierarchy captives and kept them in prison for thirteen days. He punished 500 rebels, for waging war against king Situ. His son Pon-tagpa became commander of the army, and defeated his enemies in a great battle. He was famous for his liberality to the poor, and for his devotion to the clergy. His son Namkhah Paljor, became Joñpon and favoured the Depuń monastery.

VII. Magpon Sonam Gyalpo.

This family is descended from Gar, the celebrated minister of Sroñ-tsan Gampo. They were the chiefs of Tshal, but being defeated in war by king Situ, they became his vassals. One of the illustrious members of this family was superintendent of the Gah-dan monastery. His son Sonam Gyalpo was a celebrated general, who being victorious in war with Rinchhen Puñpa in the battles of Lho-bragpa, Dvagpo and Koñpo, became well-known by the title Magpon or general. He subsequently became magistrate of Lhasa. He built a gold dome over the great temple of Lhasa. His descendants have all along served their country well.

VIII. Deva Holkhapa.

This family is of modern origin. The founder of it Taši Gyaltshan was chief secretary to king Tagpa Gyaltshan. He was appointed a Joñpon. His son Chho Je Ssañ founded the monastery of Nima-lin and endowed it with grants of land and furnished it with the *Kahgyur* and the *Tangyur*. In his old age he led the life of an austere monk. His two sons Nor Ssañpo and Gyam-tsho-pa became ministers and generals to the king's army. The son of the elder brother was the well-known Khadub Nor Ssañ, who was profoundly versed in Sūtra-s and Tantra-s. He wrote many works, such as Thimed Hodchhen, &c. and was appointed tutor to the Dalai Lama Gedun Gyamtsho.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET.¹

Chapter I

Hail to that all-yielding gem, the prince of power, the holy religion of Buddha that came from the precious country of Āryāvarta. By the kindness and generous acts of pious princes, learned Pandits and Lochāvas,² it was brought to this snow-girt country of Tibet. Let its brightness enlighten all hearts and the copious shower of its blessings and usefulness ever excite wonder. Be it adored, being placed on the top of the banner of faith.

The Buddhism of Tibet is divided into two main periods :

1. Na-dar or Earlier Buddhism.
2. Chhyi-dar or Later Buddhism.

1. EARLIER BUDDHISM

During the reigns of twenty six generations of kings, counted from Ŋathi-tsanpo the first of the Tibetan kings to Namri-sroñ-tsan, Buddhism was unknown in Tibet. During the reign of Lha-tho-thori-ñan-btsan, who was well-known as an incarnation of Samanta Bhadra, there fell on the top of the king's palace, from heaven, several volumes called *Pañ-konChhyag-gya*.³ The meanings of their contents being unknown, they were adored under the name of *Ñan-po-san-wa*. This was the nucleus of Buddhism in Tibet. The king learned in a vision that their contents should be known in the fifth generation. Accordingly, during the reign of Sroñ-tsan-gampo⁴, the reputed incarnation of Chenressig,⁵ the minister

1. A literal translation of the 1st part of the 2nd book of *Dub-thah Selkyi Melon*.

2. Tibetan scholars who were versed in the Sanskrit language were called Lochhāva or Lochāva.

3. *dPañ-skon phyag-brgya*.

4. Sroñ-btsan sGampo.

5. That is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

Thon-mi Sambhoṭa visited India to study the various sciences and Buddhism. He became well-versed in the classical sciences of the Indians. After his return to Tibet, he framed the Wuchan⁶ or "characters provided with heads," of the Tibetans after the model of the Nāgarī, and the Wume⁷ characters after the Wurtu⁸ letters, and thereby founded the alphabetic system of the Tibetans. Sroṇ-tsan-gampo brought the image of Aksobhya⁹ from Nepal and that of Śākyā Muni from China, which were the first Buddhist images in Tibet. In order to accommodate these in Tibet, he erected the great Temple called Rasa-thul-nañ kītsug-lakhañ.¹⁰ He engaged Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and his colleagues to translate Sanskrit Buddhist works into Tibetan, writing them in the newly formed alphabet. *Saṅgye-phalpo-chhe*¹¹ and other books were the first translations which formed the germ of Tibetan Buddhism.

During the reign of Thi-sroṇ-de-tsang¹², who was celebrated as an emanation of Mañjughoṣa,¹³ the great sage Śānta Rakṣita and Pāṇḍit Padma Sambhava and several other Indian Buddhists and philosophers were invited to Tibet.¹⁴ Among the first seven monks, Vairocana¹⁵ was the chief. Originating from them, the ancient Tibetan Clergy of the "orange raiment" began to multiply. Then, there sprung up a host of Lochāvas—those versed in two or more languages—

6. Also called Go-chan (dVu-chan) or characters provided with mātrā-s or heads.

7. Written dVu-med and pronounced as Wume, a kind of letters which have no mātrā-s or heads.

8. Wartu is probably the language of the people of Kafiristan and Bactria.

9. One of the Pañcajāti Buddhas.

10. Rasa-hphrul-snañ-gi-gtsug-lag-khañ. From that date his capital was famed by the name Lhasa or the "land of God." Sanskrit Kūṭāgara is the same as Tibetan Tsug-lag-khañ.

11. *Saṅs-rgyas-phalpo-chhe*.

12. Khri-sroṇ-lde-btsan.

13. The God of Learning and Wisdom.

14. Under them the first Tibetan Clergy was formed.

15. Also Written Vairotsana.

among whom were Lui-waṇpo,¹⁶ Sagor Vairocana,¹⁷ Rinchhen-chhog,¹⁸ Yeśe Waṇpo,¹⁹ Kachog-shan,²⁰ &c., who translated the Sūtra-s, Tantra-s and meditative sciences from Sanskrit into the Tibetan language. Śānta Rakṣita undertook the charge of explaining to his pupils the sacred literature, from the Dulva (Vinaya) to the Mādhyamika philosophy. Padma Sambhava and his colleagues taught the Tantras to a few intelligent pupils, which enabled a few pious persons to obtain sainthood. Then a Chinese sage named Hwashaṇ Mahāyāna came to Tibet to preach a strange form of sophistry. He held that the pursuit of evil as well as of good binds men equally to a course of recurring existence, and therefore affords no means of emancipation. In illustration of this theory he observed—"your condition remains all the same whether you are bound by an iron or a golden chain; you are not liberated". Wherefore if the mind can be purged of all thoughts, deliverance from recurring existence is secured. The doctrine which he thus promulgated was accepted by all Tibet; and for a time the Darśana and doctrines of the former Indian Pāṇḍits such as Śānta Rakṣita were displaced. For he vanquished all in disputation by his powerful logic. The followers of Śānta Rakṣita and other Indian philosophers diminished in number. In order to refute the philosophy of Hwashaṇ, king Thi-sroṇ-de-tsang invited Kamalaśīla, one of the most learned Indian sages of that age. Hwashaṇ was defeated in disputation, and his fallacies were exposed by Kamalaśīla who wrote three series of books on meditative science and thus re-established the Indian school, its ritual and philosophy.

During the reign of Ralpachan, Pāṇḍit Jina Mitra and many other learned sages were invited, who, having transla-

16. bKhan-kluhi-dVaṇ-po.
17. Sa-gor-Vairo-tsana.
18. Āchārya Rin-chhen-mChhog.
19. Yeśes dVaṇ-po.
20. Ka-chog-shaṇ.

ted many Buddhist works into the vernacular language, arranged them so as to be accessible to the general reader. Both Śānta Rakṣita, and Kamalaśīla belonged to the Svatāntramādhyamika school. Thi-sroṇ-de-tsan who was a devout follower of Śānta Rakṣita, prohibited his subjects by royal proclamation from following Hwashaṇ's theories under penalty of death. He commanded all to follow the Mādhyamika school. Although certain Indian Pañdits of the Yogācāra school had visited Tibet, yet they failed to displace the anciently propagated Svatāntra school, which prevailed in Tibet till the accession of Lañdarma to the monarchy of Tibet, when the last vestige of Buddhism disappeared from Tibet. The Buddhists of the earlier period or Na-dar followed Śānta Rakṣita and Kamalaśīla, i.e., the Mādhyamika Svatāntra.

2. LATER BUDDHISM

At the time when Lañdarma was actively prosecuting the destruction of Buddhism in Tibet, three saintly recluses from Pal-chhen-chhu-vo-ri fled towards the Amdo country, where they became pupils of the abbot Lama Goñ-pa-rab-sal.²¹ They were followed by ten other Tibetans headed by Lume-tshul-thim who took the vows of monkhood and were admitted as pupils of the same High priest. After the death of Lañdarma, they all returned to Tibet to their respective monasteries and estates, and increased the number of monks. Thus from the country of Amdo the dying flame of Buddhism was rekindled. Henceforth, Buddhism commenced to spread again, and all quarters of U' and Tsān were refilled with many classes of congregated Lamas, who actively engaged in the teaching of Buddhism. For this result the inhabitants of the snowy country (Himavat) are indebted to the two Amdo Lamas, Goñ-pa-rab-sal and Lume-tshul-thim. During the reign of Lha-lama Yeśe-hod the celebrated Lochāva-Rinchhen-Ssañpo visited India to study the sacred literature and philo-

21. Goñ-pa-rab-gsal.

state that he resided but for a few months in Tibet, during which time, by the power of his divine knowledge and purity, he subdued the demons and evil spirits of Tibet and founded the monastery of Samye (Ssan-yad³²). After the departure of Padma Sambhava a certain Brāhmaṇa impostor having dressed himself in Urgyan-sahorma³³ fashion, came to Tibet to pass for that great teacher and spread the different divergent Niñ-mapa theories. This assertion has been rejected by many of the best writers of Tibet who suppose it to be simply a fabrication to scandalise the Niñ-mapa sect. There are others who believe that the Niñma doctrine had its origin in Guru-chho Wañ. The kind of costume, now known by the name of Urgyan-sahorma, is said to have been introduced by Chho Wañ, who discovered some of Padma's works and flourished at a subsequent date and was a Terton (discoveror of sacred volumes.)

There are nine principal divisions of the Niñma doctrine :-

- (1) Niñ-tho (4) Kriyā (7) Kyepa Mahā-yoga
- (2) Rañ-gyal (5) Upa (8) Luñ Anu-yoga
- (3) Chyañ-sem (6) Yoga (9) Dsog-chhenpo Ati-yoga.

The first three divisions were delivered by the Nirmāṇakāya-Sākya Muni (Buddha Sākya Simha) and are called the general or common *yāna*-s.

The last three are attributed to Dharmakāya Samanta Bhadra or Kuntu Ssañpo. They are called the "Anuttara" antara-*yāna*-traya (according to the Niñmapa school.) Kuntu Ssañpo is the great and supreme Buddha, while Vajra-dhara is the Chief Buddha in the Gelugpa school. Again Vajra Sattva is second in the Niñma school, and Sākya Simha, being an incarnate Buddha, holds the third place.

32. This is derived from the Chinese word San-yañ meaning the three bodies. The top of the monastic temple was constructed in Chinese style, the middle part in Indian style, and the lowest part in Tibetan style. This temple, in Tibetan, is called Samya from Sañ-yad, and is second in sanctity to that of Potala but first in antiquity.

33. The fashion of dress anciently in vogue in Uddayana, the tract of country from Gazni to Bactria including a portion of Persia.

Of the Bāhya (external) Tantra Śrenī and Antara (internal) Tantra Śrenī, the external ritual or Kriyā tantra-s were delivered by Buddha Śākyā Siṁha himself. The “Upa” or Karma tantra and Yoga tantra-s were delivered by Buddha Vairocana, one of the five Pañcha Jāti Buddhas.³⁴ The Antara (internal) or Anuttara tantras were delivered by Vajra Dhara (Dorje-chhaṇ) from his celestial mansion of “Chho-juṇ-yanpa,” the spacious mansion of Dharma-dhātu.

The Anuttara-yāna was taught by Dharmakāya Samanta Bhadra, (Kuntu Ssaṇpo) in his self-created form of Sambhoga Kāya. When seated in one of the purest of Bodhisattva Bhūmi-s at great ease, by his omniscience, he taught incessantly in four times,³⁵ without error and failing into fallacy.

Numberless precepts and instructions, wide enough to bear comparison with the sky, were delivered, out of which a few were brought to Jambudvīpa by Gaḥ-rab Dorje, Śrī-siddha Manapura, Vimala, and Padma Sambhava. These Vidyā-dhara-s who had obtained perfection cleverly elucidated the different theories of Niñma religion. These are nine classes of Niñma Lamas :-

Gyal-wa-gon are the Buddhas, such as Śākyā Siṁha, Kuntu Ssaṇ-po, Dorje Semba, Amitābha.

Rig-dsin³⁶ are the learned saints that from their infancy cultivated their faculties, and grew learned by their own industry and assiduity. Afterwards they were inspired by Yeše Khaṇḍoma or the fairies of learning,³⁷ Padma Sambhava,

34. (i). Every Buddha must possess the five Jñāna-s or divine wisdom called . (1) Chhoki-vyiñ-ki-yeše. (2) Meloñ-ta-bui-yeše. (3) Nambar-ned-ki-yeše. (4) Sosor-togpai yeše (5) Gya-wa-dupai-yeše.

These five Jñāna-s being in themselves abstractions or vacuity cannot be active unless they are impersonated. They are therefore represented by

(ii). The (five) Pañcha Jāti Buddhas or Dhyāni Buddha-s, named respectively : (1) Akṣobhya; (2) Vairochana; (3) Ratna Sambhava; (4) Amitābha; (5) Amogha Siddha.

35. Day, month, year and Kalpa.

36. Rig-ḥdsin-brdah.

37. These are like the nine Muses of the ancients.

sophy of the Indian Buddhists. After acquiring great proficiency in those subjects he returned to Tibet and translated many Sūtra and Tantra works. He thus established himself as a great teacher of Buddhism.

REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM BY THE LAMAS OF UPPER TIBET AND LADAK CALLED STOD LATAK.

A goatherd named Kargyal, under inspiration from a certain Nāga of the same name, preached a strange religion (a form of Bonism) which was inimical to Buddhism. Rinchhen Ssañpo overcame him, and also suppressed some of the Tāntriks who were in the habit of abusing the Tāntrik ritual by committing obscenities under the garb of religion. Thus by purifying the sacred religion, he gained the sincere love and confidence of the dwellers on the snowy mountains. Lochāva Shon-nu-pal of Gos remarked that it was owing to the exertions of this great scholar that pure Tantricism became more diffused in the later than in the earlier period. Towards the end of his life he betook himself to asceticism and, having attained to saintliness, he entered the abodes of the gods. This great Lochāva belonged to the Prasanga Mādhyamika school.

The same prince Lha-lama invited Pañdit Dharmapāla with three of his principal disciples named Siddhapāla, Guṇapāla and Prajñā Pāla, from the eastern quarter of India. From these, Gyal-wai-śerab of Shañ Shun took the vows of monkhood and afterwards went to Palpa in Nepal to learn Vinaya and philosophy from the Hinayāna sage named Pretaka. His spiritual descendants, named Paljor-śerab Chyan-chhub-senje &c., were known by the name Tod-dulva or the up-country followers of the Vinaya.

During the reign of king Lhade the illustrious Kashmirian Pañdit Śakyasrī was invited, who by translating many of the Sūtra-s and Śāstra-s greatly promoted the diffusion of Buddhism. The ritual vow introduced by him was called Panchhen Domgyun. In the same manner that introduced by Lachhen

of Amdo was called Lachhen Domgyun. By persecution the enemies of Buddhism had only succeeded in putting down the external observances and ritual of the clergy, while the real Dharma and moral discipline continued to be secretly practised under adverse circumstances. The basis of Buddha Dharma being Vinaya or moral discipline, the system of Domgyun is only necessary as an external observance.

3. GROWTH OF VARIOUS DOGMATIC SCHOOLS

Thus by the mercy of the victor (Jina) and his spiritual sons (Bodhisattva-s), by the kindness of Dharma Rāja-s and Pañdita-s and Lochāva-s, and by the moral merits of the people in the Himavat country, the Buddhist religion progressed more and more, so as to branch out into numerous different sects as the result of its extraordinary growth. These, like the eighteen divisions of the Vaibhāṣika school of ancient India, were designated after the names of their respective teachers and places of origin. Some of the Tibetan Lamas who had derived their religious knowledge from Indian Pañdits, feeling great veneration for the theories themselves, named their respective sects after them. They did not follow the Indian patriarchs in their nomenclature, for all the Buddhist schools were designated after the general sense of their philosophies. For instance : the Sakya-pa, Jonan-pa, Shañ-pa and Diguñ-pa sects of Tibet were designated after the names of the localities where they were taught and originated ; the Karmapa and Bulug pa sects, after the names of their respective teachers ; the Kahdampa, Dsog-chhen-pa, Chhyag-chhen-pa and Shi-chye-pa sects after their respective rituals or external Kriyā.

All the various Buddhist sects of Tibet are classed under two schools :

- (1) The Ancient school.
- (2) The Gelug-pa or Reformed school.

The ancient school includes seven sects, viz., Niñ-ma-pa, Kah-dampa, Kah-gyu-pa, Shi-chye-pa, Sakya-pa, Jonan-pa

and Ni-tshe-pa.²²

In the ancient school there are two general divisions. The earlier Niñma-pa and the later Niñma-pa called Sarma-pa. It has been asserted by Tibetan historians and philosophers that the difference between the earlier Niñmapa and the Sarmapa exists in the Tantra-s. In the Sūtra-s there is no doctrinal difference. In the earlier and later periods of Buddhism there were certain dogmatic differences in the Sūtra-s, which justified the distinction. All the Tantra-s that were translated into Tibetan prior to Pandit Smriti's advent, are designated by the name of Sañ-nag Niñma,²³ and those that were translated by Rinchhen Ssañ-po and other later writers are known by the name of Sañ-nag-Sarma.²⁴ But although this distinction of Niñma and Sarma Tantras is recognized by many authors, yet there exist some irregularities in the application of the terms. For instance the Mañjuśri-mūla Tantra-s which were translated during the reign of king Thi-sron are also accepted as Sarma Tantra-s. In the face of such irregularities Rinchhen Ssañpo has been universally admitted as the founder of the Sarma Tantra-s. Dogmi Gos and Marpa Lochāva are credited as Sarma teachers. The first revival of Buddhism after the death of Landarma, known as the Later period, commenced with Loton-dorje Wañ-chhyug when Thi-Taši-tseg-pa, son of Pal-khor-tsan, ruled the kingdom of Rulag. His three sons Pal-de, hOd-de, and Kyi-de requested Loton to send two learned Lamas who could revive the Buddhist religion in Tibet. Accordingly Sakya Shon-nu and Yeše-tsondu were sent, who re-established the clerical congregation in Tibet. Again that great sage, in consultation with those princes, sent Dogmi and Tag-Lochāva to India to study Dulva, Šer-chhyin²⁵ and Tantra-s which are respectively the basis, essence and pith of Buddhism. Tag Lochāva, having

22. (1) rNiñ-ma-pa, (2) bKaḥ-gdams-pa, (3) bKaḥ-brGyud-pa, (4) Shi-byed-pa, (5) Sa-skya-pa, (6) Jonañ-pa, (7) Ni-tshe-pa.

23. gSañ-nag rNiñ-ma.

24. gSañ-nag-gsarma.

25. Prajñā-pāramitā.

devoted his time chiefly to pilgrimage, failed to become a learned teacher, but Dogmi succeeded in his mission and became a great scholar of Buddhism. He introduced the system of Tantra-s called Mātri Tantra-s and thereby diffused the teaching of Buddhism. Lochāva Rinchhen Ssañpo elucidated Prajñā-pāramitā, Mātri and Pitri Tantra-s and above all made the Yoga Tantra-s accessible to the Tibetans. Gos had introduced the Samāja Guhya and spread the system of Nāgārjuna. The great Tantrik sage Marpa taught the Guhya Samāja according to Pitri Tantra-s, the ritual of Mahāmāyā according to Mātri Tantra-s, the ritual of Vajra-haīṣa and Sambara. By imparting instructions in several kinds of mysticism, he filled Tibet with learned men. These great Lochāva-s having charged themselves with these works, Tantrik Buddhism opened a new era in the religious history of Tibet, known as the Sarma system of the later period or Sarmatanpa or Gyu, the same as Navya Tantra.

Chapter II RISE AND PROGRESS OF NĀMAPA SCHOOL

In the beginning king Sroñ-tsan-gampo, himself a professor of Buddhism, taught his people the series of scriptures known as "Kyerim" and "Dsog-rim" delivered by Chenressig. All Tibet paid homage and prayed to that merciful Bodhisattva for protection. Sron-tsañ, in whom was an emanation of Chenressig's spirit, first taught the six mystic syllables, "Om-maṇi-padme-hum", and there significations and recital. He invited the Indian teacher Kusara, Śaṅkara Brāhmaṇa, the Nepalese Pāṇḍit Śilamañju and others who, having translated many Tantra-s, first taught the Tibetans the first principles of Buddhism. The accounts of the first introduction of Buddhism and a few Tantric works were discovered within a stone pillar called Ka-khol-ma, in which Sroñ-tsan-gampo had hid them for the use and benefit of posterity.

In the fifth generation from Sroñ-tsan the illustrious king

Thi-sroṇ invited the great Indian Pañdit Śānta Ratna Rakṣita who introduced the observance of the "ten virtues"²⁶ and Dharma which teaches the real state of the eighteen physical and corporal regions with the eight prohibitions²⁷ such as killing, the taking of what is not given, the commission of foul actions, lying, drinking, dancing and singing, and sitting on lofty seats. When the mighty local gods and genii²⁸ who delight in sin found that men were prone to virtue, they became enraged, and one of the most wrathful among them named Nen-chhen-thaṇ²⁹ hurled a thunderbolt on the Marpori³⁰ hill. Another frightful demi-god named Yar-lha-shanco cast down the palace of Phan-thaṇ of Yarluṇ. The twelve female spirits called "Tanma" spread plagues and murrain all over the country. Under such circumstances thinking it urgently necessary, first of all to overcome these evil spirits and goblins, to ensure the safety of Buddhism, Śānta Rakṣita requested the king to invite Padma Sambhava the great Tāntrik of Uddayāna. Accordingly the king sent messengers to India to invite that illustrious sage. By his gift of fore-knowledge, knowing what was required of him, Padma Sambhava had already started for Tibet. The messengers met him on the way. He obliged all the evil and wicked genii and demons to bind themselves under solemn oaths not to work evil nor stand in the way of the pious. Sitting on a cross made of two Dorje,³¹ placed on a clear space, he purified

- 26. (1) Not to commit murder. (2) Not to commit theft.
- (3) Not to commit adultery. (4) Not to utter lies. (5) Not to speak evil nor utter abusive language. (6) Not to talk nonsense.
- (7) Not to slander. (8) Not to be covetous. (9) Not to think on injury. (10) Not to be averse to truth.

- 27. Demons : (1) Dorje-Khadoma. (2) Dorje-Yama-choṇ.
- (3) Dorje-Kuntu-ssaṇ-mo. (4) Dorje-kik-je-tsomo. Yaksīṇī-s :
- (5) Dorje Eka netra. (6) Dorje Pal yum. (7) Dorje Luma (Nāgini)
- (8) Dorje Dagyalma.

28 These were probably the Bon-gods.

29. Bon Demigod.

30. The Hill on which Potala now stands.

31. Vajra

a spot on which he built the great Vihāra of Ssan-yag Migyur-Lhun-gyi-dubpai-tsugla-khan or the shrine of the unchanging, self-grown working. The king together with twenty six of his saintly subjects, by sitting in three kinds of yoga, became possessed of wonderful learning and obtained saintly power, perfection, and, finally, emancipation.

The names and the exploits of the twentysix Tibetan Buddhists who obtained sainthood and worked with the king are the following :

- (1) Nam-kha-ñin-po, could mount the rays of the sun.
- (2) Saṅgye-yeśe, could drive iron bolts into hard rocks.
- (3) Gyalwa-chhog-yañ, by transforming his head into that of a horse, neighed three times.
- (4) Kharchhen Chhogyal, brought the slain to life.
- (5) Pal-ki-yeśe, turned three sylvan goddesses into his slaves.
- (6) Pal-ki Seṅge, made slaves of demons, nymphs, and genii.
- (7) Vairochana, obtained the five divine eyes of knowledge.
- (8) Ḋah-dag-gyalpo, obtained Samādhi.
- (9) Yu-druñ Ñiñ-po, acquired divine discrimination.
- (10) Jñāna-kumāra, performed miracles.
- (11) Dorje Duñ Jem, travelled invisibly like the wind.
- (12) Yeśe Ḋañ, went over to the fairy world travelling through the void space.
- (13) Sogpu-Lhapal (a Mongol), could catch ferocious wild beasts.
- (14) Na-nam-yeśe, could soar in the sky like a bird.
- (15) Pal-ki Wañ-chhyug, could kill his enemies by the flourish of his fists.
- (16) Den-ma-tse Wañ, obtained unfailing memory.
- (17) Ka-wa-pal-tseg, could tell the hearts of other men.
- (18) Shu-bu-pal-señ, could make water run upwards.
- (19) Khe-hu-chhug-lo, could catch a flying bird.
- (20) Gyal-wai Lodoi, raised the ghost of the dead and turned the corpse into solid gold.
- (21) Tenpai-namkha, tamed wild yaks of the northern desert.

- (22) Hodan-wañ-chhyug, dived in water like fish.
- (23) Ma-thog-rin-chhen, could crush adamant into powder and eat it as meal.
- (24) Pal-ki Dorje, passed through mountains and rocks.
- (25) Lañdod Kon-chhog, could handle thunderbolts and drive them away.
- (26) Gyal-wai-chhañ-chhub, could sit cross-legged on empty space.

There also arrived many Indian Pandits among whom Dharma Kirti, Vimalamitra, Buddha Guhya, Śānti Garbha and others were eminent. Dharma Kīrti introduced the Tantrik ritual of Vajra-dhātu-yoga. Vimala-mitra and others taught mysticism based on Buddhist Tantricism to their trusted pupils. They did not teach the principal works on differential and atomic philosophy, and metaphysics generally, to any but one or two of their favorite pupils. Tantrik principles being very subtle, intricate and holy, their diffusion was very limited.

The translation of some scriptural treatises such as Kun-chye Gyalpo Do-goñ-du, eight series of Gyu-thul, and Dupai-do, Vyākaraṇa and Upadeśa were executed by Vairochana, Ma-ñañ-nub and other translators after Tantrik interpretation. Padma Sambhava concealed many profound religious treatises underneath rocks, mountains and beds of lakes, for the use of future generations, and afterwards retired towards the south-western quarter called Ŋa-yab-liñ or the land of genii. From this it will appear that during the reign of Sroñ-tsan-gampo the Tantrik Ŋiñ-mapa made only a beginning, but in Thisroñ's time spread widely over the country. Padma Sambhava was its greatest teacher, and other teachers were his pupils and followers. Numerous biographies of him are extant, all of which give different accounts of his life. Though the biography of this great teacher is worthy of being treated at large, yet, as numerous historians give different accounts of his life I refrain from writing about him. Some of the ancient writers

Śrī Simha, Manapura, &c. and other Bodhisattvas.

Gaṇ-sag-ñāṇ³⁸ or the uninspired saints who carefully preserved the secrecy of their mysticism.

Kah bab-luṇ-tan³⁹ are the Lamas who obtained divine inspiration according to former predictions in dreams, and therefore did not consult any teacher as usual.

Le-tho-ter⁴⁰ are the Lamas who, accidentally discovering some hidden scriptural treasures, became learned without any help from teachers or anybody else.

Monlam-taṇ-gya⁴¹ are the Lamas who by dint of their prayers obtained sacred light.

The five Dhyāni Buddhas being the personifications of the five Mana-s or divine perfections of Buddhahood are ideal personages. They were never born like Śākyā Muni, as understood by many scholars of Buddhism.

When it is said that such and such a Lama or *śramaṇa* was the incarnation of such and such a Buddha, it is meant that he acquired an emanation of a portion of divine perfection so personified. Therefore every Buddha is a combination of five Divine perfection or five Dhyāni Buddha-s; for instance, the Taśi Lama is an incarnation of Amitābha, or the 4th Dhyāni Buddha.

These six are the higher order of Lamas; besides these, there are three which are of a practical nature. They are called Riṇ or distant order, Ñe or nearer order, and Ssabmo or deeper order :

1. Riṇ Kahma. 2. Ñe-terma. 3. Ssab-mo-dag-naṇ.

The Kahma are subdivided into three classes :

1. Gyu-thul. 2. Dupai-do. 3. Sem-chhog.

KAHMA-GYUTHUL.

This class spread all over 'U' Tsāṇ and Kham, being first

38. Gaṇ-ssag sÑāṇ.

39. bKah-babs.

40. Las-þkhro-gter.

41. sMonlam-gtān-rgya.

founded by the Indian Pañdit Vimalamitra, who handed it down to his pupil Rin-chhen Chhog. Dophuṇ Lama was one of the chief leaders of this sect. One of his pupils carried it to Kham, and another towards Dañ-beg north of Lhasa and upper Tsāñ, called Mañar, and upper Ladak. Again a third pupil of Dophuṇ Lama, named Kah-dampa, erected a monas-tery on a place which was of the shape of the letter *ka* at the foot of the Momber mountains of the Di-chhu, the great river of Kham Dirgi, in consequence of which his followers were called Ka-thogpa Lamas.

DUPAI-DO.

This dogmatic sect has only two true scriptural volumes, *Mūla Tantra* or *Kuṇḍu-rig-pai-dō*, and *Vyākhyā Tantra* or *Dogaṇīpa Dupa*. The Indian Pañdit Dānarakṣita first taught them to the two Nepali Pandits named Dharmabodhi and Basu-dhara. King Ru-chhe-tsan of Brusha (Dusha) country translated them into the Dusha vernacular and spread them to the country of Thogar, upper Bactria and the Pamir.

SEM-CHHOG.

The sect was taught by Ron-sem Lochāva who was believed to have been an incarnation of Pañdit Kālācārya of India. He was a profound scholar of Buddhism; being eminently versed in all the branches of sacred literature, he was unrivaled for learning in his age. There are eight ceremonies prescribed to this sect : Jampal-ku, Padma-sruṇ, Thugma-du-tsi, Yontan and Phur-pa-thin-le, the five series of ceremonies, by which birth in this world can be avoided; and Mamo-bo-tāñ, Mod-pa-dag-nag and Jig-tan-chhod-ten for worldly good, consisting purely in propitiating demons. Of the first five ceremonies, those of Tam-den and Phurpa were instituted by Padma Sambhava who induced king Thi-sroṇ to invoke the former and his Queen to propitiate the latter. Tamden (in Sanskrit Hayagrīva) is a Tantrik god of wrathful temper, who

vanquishes the demons. Phurpa is another deity who has a human head, and a body which is of the shape of a pin, standing on its apex. They are generally selected by Niñma Lamas as their tutelary deities.

The Tantrik ceremony of the worship of Jampal-ku and his attendants was instituted by Pañdit Sānti-garbha. This is the mystic representation of Mañjuśri, who here loses all his amiable, benign and wise character, and is made to assume a very terrible and hideous shape, with several heads, and clasping a woman obscenely in his arms.

The Tantrik ceremony of Yan-dag was introduced by a Tantrik sage named Huñkāra, and that of Du-tsi by Vimalamitra. The propitiating of Mamo, Modpa-dag, Jigta-chhonten and other local demons was intended by Padma Sambhava for the country, as they were bound by a solemn promise to contribute to the service of the world.⁴²

THE ORIGIN OF TERMA-WORKS.

With a view to preserve the sacred writings that they might not be spoiled by water or other agencies, Padma Sambhava and other illustrious sages, for the use and disciplining of future generations, concealed them under rocks. By their divine power they commended those hidden treasures to the care of the vanquished demons who were now made guardians of the land and of Dharma, and prayed that they should be discovered only by the pious and fortunate. They specified the time, name, race and signs of the discoverers in the preface of the books concealed, also, in mystic characters and language, where and when they might be known, on rocks and in other

42. Formerly in Tibet, as now in Sikkim, people used to kill animals to appease the wrath of evil spirits who were supposed to spread plagues and ride men or women. They were a terror to the people. Padma Sambhava abolished the system of animal sacrifice for which he substituted meal rice and cake sacrifices called Torma. This is the origin of Buddhist worship with flour cakes now so common in the Himalayan countries and Tibet.

books. Such treasures as were brought to light by men thus specified, were called Ter-chho or hidden treasures. There are accounts of the discovery of such sacred treasures taking place in ancient India. The uninformed only may hold that with the exception of the Nīnma schools no other religious sects possess "hidden treasures;" for many illustrious Lamas of other sects, actuated by the same motives as Padma Sambhava, had also hid volumes of their respective creeds. There were also instances of many impostors, who composed works with foul doctrines, and, to attach importance to them, hid them under hollows of rocks and old trees, and after the lapse of a few years, themselves brought them out to deceive the unwary and credulous.

The legendary biography of Padma Sambhava called *Thainyig* is the chief work from which many hints about the hidden religious works were drawn out by Saṅgye Lama, Da-chan and others which led to many valuable discoveries. Similar discoveries were made by other writers, about whom no mention was made in any of the ancient predictions. The greatest number of discoveries were during the reign of King Wañde, who at one time invited many of the discoverers to one place and examined their respective pretensions. The discoverers of hidden scriptures were not required to take lessons in theology from any superior or spiritual guide. The mere discovery of the books obtained for them immunity from pupilage. Among those who acquired celebrity by such means, Nīmai-hodsser of Gyal-tse and Guru Chhoikyi-wañ-chhyug were the most eminent. They were the arbitrators of the claims of the discoverers. Nonśebar was a zealous Lama who discovered many volumes of hidden scriptures and established one hundred and eight religious institutions for the discoverers of which the one at Ta-thāñ was well-known. Among his discoveries were four medical works which were a great boon to the country, by reason of their diminishing human misery through their healing efficacy.

SSAB-MO-DIG NAÑ

There were some Lamas who rose high in clerical dignity in this order. Some of them are said to have seen the face of the supreme god who taught them religion. This class is common to other Buddhist schools of Tibet, but it obtained great celebrity in the Niñmapa school.

Of the Anuttara system of the Niñmapa, the Dsog-chhenpa sect is by far the most important and philosophical. In fact it is the chief of the surviving sects of the once most flourishing school of Tibet and Nepal. It is well-known by the name of Dsog-chhenpa Lana-me-pai-gyu. Atiyoga is its distinctive dogma. It has three divisions : Semde, Loñde and Mañag.

There are eighteen volumes of SEMDE scriptures out of which five are attributed to Vairochana and thirteen to Vimalamitra. The LOÑDE scriptures, altogether nine in number, were by Vairocana and Pañmipham-gonpo. The Tibetan Lamas Dharmaboti of Je and Dharmasen̄ha were the most distinguished among the teachaers of this theory. NIÑ-THIG or MAN-ÑAG-DE is the most metaphysical of the three. It was first taught by Vimalamitra to king Thi-sroñ and to Ten-dzin-ssañ-po of Myañ. The latter founded the monastery of Ui-rushva, where he concealed many of his works. At his death he left hints respecting his works to Bron-rin-chhen-bar. Buddha Vajra Dharmā first delivered this theory to the Indian Pañdit Gahrab-dorje (Ānanda Vajra) who left it to his pupil Śri Simha from whom Padma Sambhava obtained it.

THE LIVES OF THE PANCHHEN-RINPOCHHES OR TASI LAMAS

Part I. *The Indian Incarnations.*¹

I. SUBHŪTI, THE STHAVIRA

Subhūti was born in the city of Śrāvasti of a wealthy and accomplished Brāhmaṇa father, named Bhūti. In his former birth, he is said to have been a Nāga from which he transmigrated to man. In his youth he acquired great proficiency in the six Brahmanical acts (*Caryā*) and the several sciences. Following the inclinations of his former life, he resided in sandal-wood forests which were filled with innumerable serpents, whence he was conducted before Buddha² by a truth-observing god.³ He was ordained a priest by Buddha's spiritual power.⁴ By his knowledge of the Dharma Śāstra-s, he suppressed sins and thereby obtained the rank of an *Arhat*. When, by his fore-knowledge, he saw that in his former life he had been a Nāga, his heart became greatly grieved. He, therefore, taught morality to 500 Nāgas and 500 eagles⁵ who fed on the former, by converting them to the Bauddha faith. Buddha also had remarked that "among the galaxy of the learned, Subhūti shines like Venus (the Morning Star)." When Buddha delivered the Prajñā Pāramitā on the top of Gridhrakūṭa

1. Obtained from the works of the Indian Pandits who laboured in Tibet.

2. Śākyā Simha.

3. A Buddhist god is a Bodhisattva or Buddha. Such a god is not an ordinary god.

4. Buddha said, "let him become priest", and he became a priest. His hair and beard were shaven miraculously, and a consecrated mendicant raiment was thrown over his person.

5. He reconciled these two hostile races to each other.

Parvata, Subhūti served him as chief catechist (the inquirer as well as the solver of doubts by reference to Buddha).

Although, outwardly a man, yet by these means he obtained the Bodhisattva perfection of the Mahāyāna and became one of the principal disciples of Buddha Śākyamuni.

II. MAÑJUŚRI KIRTI

Mañjuśri Kirti was born in the opulent city of Śambhala in the north, of royal parents. His father, king Deva Indra was said to have been the incarnation of the Bodhisattva Śūnyagarbha. His mother's name was Kauśikī. Six hundred and seventy-four years after the death of Buddha, according to Buton,⁶ in the year 159 B. C., Mañjuśri Kirti ascended the throne of Sambhala. His sovereignty extended over hundreds of petty princes and a hundred thousand cities. During his youth he acquired great proficiency in arts, sciences and magic. It is recorded that within his kingdom there lived 300,510 followers of the heretical doctrine of the Mlechhas.⁷ Among these, there were many sages whose religion consisted in the worship of the vehicle of the sun (Ñimai Śiñta). Mañjuśri Kirti banished the whole infidel population from his dominions, but afterwards, on their embracing the sacred *piṭaka*-s, he listened to their humble prayer to be permitted to return to their former homes. For the welfare of all living beings and especially of the people of Śambhala, he explained the Kālacakra system. At last in the year 59 B. C., bequeathing his throne to his son, Puṇḍarīka, he passed away from the world of sufferings, and entered the Sambhoga-Kāya of Buddhahood.

6. Buddha died 2713 years ago or 833 B.C. according to the Gelugpa Chronology, called the Ka-tan system. According to the *Vaidūrya karpo* of Desi-saṅgye Gya-mtsho, followed by A. Csoma de-Korosi, the date differs by forty years. I have followed the more correct system of the Amdoan Chronologists and, in some places, Buton.

7. These were distinct from the Brāhmaṇas, for a Brāhmaṇa is invariably called a Mutegpa which is the same as Tirthika. He is here called a Lalo Mutegpa. Lalo means a Mlechha or Yavana.

III. LEG-DAN JYAD

This great teacher was born of a Kṣatriya family in Eastern India to the east of Magadha. Being possessed of great natural talents, he very early learnt the principal systems of the Buddhist schools, promulgated by Nāgājuna and other Indian saints, and by his great knowledge of sacred literature became prominent among the learned. He was ordained a priest by Nāgājuna and wrote a commentary on the *Mūla Prajñā* of Nāgājuna and named it *Prajñā-dīpa*. He reduced Nāgājuna's reflections into Svatāntra and thereby founded the second schismatical sect of the Mādhyamika school, called Mādhyamika Svatāntra. He also found fault with Buddha Pāla's commentary or *tikā* on the *Mūla Prajñā*. There arose many followers of this great teacher, who greatly extended the Svatāntra school.

IV. ABHAYĀKARA GUPTA

Abhayākara Gupta was born in the middle of the 9th century after Christ in Eastern India near the city of Gaur.⁸ When he grew up to youth, he went to the central country of Magadha, where he learned the five sciences and became well known as a *pandita*. It was here that he entered the priesthood. During his time there reigned in Magadha king Rāma Pāla, in whose palace he was appointed to conduct the religious ceremonies. By his modesty and liberal accomplishments he greatly pleased the monarch. During the first two watches of the day he used to write Śāstra-s. In the third watch he used to explain Dharma. Up to midnight, sitting in the Himavana cemetery, he used to propitiate his gods, and, during the latter part of the night, to take rest and sleep. One morning a Dākini disguised in a girl's habit, approached him with presents of meat and wine. Abhayākara, a man of stern morality, did not pay any attention to her, and the

8. Probably the eastern district of Magadha.

woman soon disappeared, and no one knew where she had gone. Afterwards he became anxious in his mind as to who and what she might have been, and searched for her in every direction, but without success. Penitent, he now confessed his mistake, when the selfsame girl once more made her appearance. He asked forgiveness and prayed to be endowed with fore-knowledge, whereupon the divine girl, now resplendent in angelic beauty, thus addressed him : "Abhayākara, as in your former birth you were wanting in the faculty of discrimination, so will you continue to be during this life also; but as you have confessed your error, you will obtain fore-knowledge during the interval between your death and re-birth. As a step towards its acquirement you must write many works on the Dharma Śāstra-s." After drawing his attention to the practice of constructing Maṇḍala-s (in Tibet Kyilkhor) or the ritualistic circular figures of the Tāntriks, she disappeared. Following the advice of this Khaḥdoma,⁹ he composed several commentaries,¹⁰ besides criticisms on other commentators. Once he visited the city of Cara Simha, ruled by a Caṇḍāla king, who, a believer in the foulest-sort of heresy, was preparing to make one hundred human sacrifices to his horrid god. Moved with compassion for the sufferings of these unfortunate men who were bound to the sacrificial pole, he prayed to god for¹¹ their deliverance. All on a sudden a hideous Koluber Nāga coiling round his body, extended its bood over his head. This dreadful sight so terrified the Caṇḍāla king that, at the request of Abhayākara, he at once set the victims free. During the reign of Rāma Pāla, under the leadership of Abhayākara, the sacred religion of Buddha received a fresh impulse. There

9. Fairy or in Sanskrit Dākinī.

10. (1) Theñ-wa-korsum.

(2) Commentary on Khajor.

(3) „ Man-ñag.

(4) „ Nema,

(5) Sañye-thod-pai-nam-she-mi-jigpa.

11. The Buddhist triad or Ratna Traya. Before the Tibetans accepted Buddhism, they seem to have believed in the existence of God whom they called Kon Chhog or the chief of the rarities or rare Being.

were three thousand monks at the Vikramaśila Vihāra, and one thousand at Vajrāsana (Buddha Gayā). At great religious festivals and sacrificial occasions more than 5,000 monks generally assembled. Out of the one thousand monks of Vajrāsana, 40 of the Mahāyāna and 200 Śrāvaka-s who were resident members of the monastery, received their food from the king's store. The Śrāvaka-s were so numerous in every place, that at times of religious prayer-gatherings their number generally exceeded 10,000. At the monastery of Odanta Purī there were 1,000 monks, including the members of the Mahāyāna and the Śrāvaka sects. Over the former Abhayākara presided. The Śrāvaka-s also venerated him for his great knowledge and practice of discipline (Vinaya). He wrote numerous works on Buddhism, several of which are said to be extant even to the present day. He was succeeded in the High-priestship by Ratnākara Śānti. King Rāma Pāla after a successful reign of 40 years abdicated the throne in favour of his son Akṣa Pāla. Abhayākara died before the abdication and Rāma Pāla departed this life three years after it.

In the city of Subhāvatī there were many hunger-stricken beggars whose sufferings Abhayākara allayed by giving them food and drink from his mendicant platter, which was miraculously supplied from heaven. During his residence in the Vihāra of Vikramaśila, under the protection of the son of king Śubhaśrī of Eastern India,¹² the Turuṣka war¹³ took place. In this war Abhayākara played an important part.¹⁴ Afterwards he cured many poisonous snake-bites and arrested numerous bandits and robbers by the spell of his *mantra*-s. He achieved many wonders, the last of which was the bringing to life a dead child in the great cemetery of Himavana.

12. Eastern districts of Magadha.

13. He invoked the Dharmapāla-s (the spiritual protectors of the world) by making offerings and oblations. By their aid he converted his cornflour sacrifices into eagles which turned out the Mlechha intruders from India.

14. The invasion of the earlier Mohammadans under the Kaliphs probably.

*Part II. The Six Tibetan Incarnations¹⁵
(obtained from biographies)*

V. KHUG-PA-LHAS-TSI

This great Lochāva¹⁶ was born at Ta-nag-phu a town of Tsāñ. Following the inclinations of his former life which he retained in this life also, he learned the sacred scriptures from Thog-mi Lochāva and others. He went to India where he served 72 religious teachers, some of whom were most noted. He also learnt the Sūtra-s and the Mantra-s, more particularly the system of Tāntrik ritualism called Guhya Samāja (Sañ wa-du-pa). By these means he earned for himself the name of an eminent scholar. After his return to Tibet he became a saint. As he had the power of seeing the celestial mansion of the thirty-two mystical gods, he was called Shal-ssig-pa or the "god-seeing recluse." He promulgated the Guhya Samāja system of Tantrikism in Tibet. He had a great many pupils of whom four were well-versed in the Mātri Tantra and Upadeśa. Having done his utmost to further the cause of holy religion and the good of living beings, he passed away from the world in righteousness and piety.

VI. SAKYA PANDITA KUNGAH-GYAL-TSHAN¹⁷

This eminent scholar was born at Sakya in the year 1282 A.D. of the noble family of Sakya Jam-yañ-gon. His father's name was Pal-chhen-hod-pa and that of his mother Ni-thi-tsam, and they gave him the name of Paldan-ton-dub. During his boyhood he learnt the Sanskrit, Lañja, Wartu (the language

15. These Lamas did not possess any royal dignities. They may, therefore, be called simply Panchhen, while the title Panchhen Rinpoche may be reserved for the later princely Lamas.

16. The Tibetan translators of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures were called Lochāvas or Lo-tsā-va. The title Pandit is applied to an Indian translator or learned man or sage.

17. In Sanskrit Ānanda Dhavaja.

of Bactria and Kafirstan probably) and Du-sha languages. He was admitted into the holy order by the venerable Tag-pa-gyal-tshan, who gave him the religious name of Kungah-gyal-tshan. From him he obtained instructions in the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s. Other Pandits taught him other branches of science and sacred literature. By his great proficiency in the five great sciences, namely the mechanical arts, medicine, grammar, dialectics and sacred literature, as well as in the minor sciences of rhetoric, synonimics, poetry, dancing and astrology, in short, almost all the sciences, and chiefly by his studying and translating the theological works of the orthodox and the heterodox schools, he acquired the name of Sakya Paṇḍita. He obtained a world-wide celebrity in India, China, Mongolia and Tibet. At the age of twenty-seven he went to the great Kashmirian Paṇḍit Śākyā Śrī, by whom he was ordained a priest and instructed in the Sūtra-s and Mantra-s. On the return journey he visited Kyi-roṇ¹⁸ where he entered into disputation with a Brahmanical Śāstri, called Śamkara dhvaja (?), and defeated him by his logic and quoting of authorities. The Śāstri who had staked his life, now fled by means of his magical powers towards the sky, but Sakya Paṇḍita by the charms of his Mantra Vidyā brought him down, tied, and subsequently converted him to the orthodox faith and obliged him to promise to take the sacred vows of priesthood. Desiring to shew the Tibetans the curious and peculiar religious dress of the Brahmanical priests of India, he brought the Śāstri to Tibet in his Brahmanical dress and signs,—an act which gave great umbrage to the twelve demigods and demons who are the sworn guardians of Tibet. They killed¹⁹ the Śāstri by making him vomit blood and tied his head to the pillar of the great temple of the Sakya monastery, which still exists. After this, Sakya Paṇḍita received an invitation from the Emperor of Hor (Mongolia) whose dominion extends

18. Kiroṇ in Nepal

19. The Śāstri died of vomiting blood, probably caused by the intensity of the cold and the dryness and rarity of the air. All sorts of diseases are attributed to the wrath of evil spirits in Tibet.

to the north. He was told by his former teacher Tag-pa-gyal-tshan²⁰ that there lived in Hor²¹ a race of men who differed greatly in language from the Tibetans, and who wore hawk-like hats, and shoes resembling the snout of pigs. This teacher advised him not to harbour any doubts or fears about the people in his mind, but to go straight to that country to further the cause of religion and the well-being of living beings, in accordance with the prophecies of old. At the age of thirty-three²² he started from Sakya for Hor, and after a tedious and protracted journey of three years, reached the court of Goyugan, the Emperor of the Tartars. He instructed the Emperor in religion and frequently discoursed on religion with him. Thus the barbarians who disbelieved in the sacred tenets of Buddhism were converted by him. The Mahāyāna system was introduced there.

The Nāga²³ princes being pacified by the beneficial influence of the Buddhist religion, there was plenty of rain and water. Maladies of men and murrain were prevented from raging in the country. In Hor, the people lived in plenty and reared much cattle. Buddhism was made as powerful as the sun in dispelling darkness. In the city of Gyu-ma, at the age of seventy, in the year 1252 A.D., in the month of September, during the middle watch of the day, he quitted this mortal coil and entered the mansion of purity, solemnly escorted by a procession of fairies (*dākini-s*).

VIII. YUN-TON-DORJE

Yun-ton-dorje was born at Gorma,²⁴ a place of considerable

20. It is not clear whether Sonam-tse and Tagpa-gyal-tshan were one and the same person.

21. Tartary or Hor includes Turkistan, Mongolia, and Manchu

22. Illustrious Lamas cannot travel so fast as ordinary travellers do.

23. The Nāga princes are believed by all the Buddhists to have great power over the distribution of water and the occurrence of plagues and cattle diseases.

24. I call this place Korma; although the 3rd letter of the Tibetan alphabet is equivalent to Sanskrit *g*, yet it is pronounced as *k* by the Tibetans.

trade near Sha-lu in the province of Tsāñ, in the year A.D., 1284 in the family of a Tāntrik priest²⁵ of the race of Lan. In his youth, he received instruction in the mystic Niñma system from a learned Lama named Dub-ten Sakya Phel. From his seventeenth year he received instruction from many other Lamas²⁶ of the Niñma school. Becoming a powerful charmer, he subdued the eight demigods and genii of the spiritual world. At the request of the Emperor Goyugan he visited China. Here he was engaged in conducting the religious services and ceremonies, by which means and more particularly by his moral merits he showed the path of spiritual liberation to others. Afterwards he returned to Tibet where he performed many acts of virtue. Being earnestly pressed by his mother, he took a wife and at the age of twenty-eight got a son. At the age of twenty-nine, seeing that worldly existence was illusive, he broke off the bondage and went before the teacher Tag-pa-shon-nu by whom he was ordained a priest and given the name of Dorje-pal. He also heard sermons on Buddhism from Rañjuñ-dorje, Wuton-shag, Khanpo-Yeše and others. He established many religious institutions, such as Pheñpo-ri-vo-chhe, Garmo-chhojuñ, Taši-jcñ-kha, Chho-diñ, and Tag-gya-dorje-phodai,²⁷ and wrote many books on the ancient and modern schools of Buddhism, called Niñma and Sarma respectively. Yugde Panchhen and others were his pupils. At the palace of Tag-gya-dorje, in the ninety-second year of his age, in the year 1376, he entered the mansion of rest and peace.

VIII. KHA-DUB-GELEG-PAL-SSAÑ

This illustrious scholar was born in the year A. D. 1385 at Dag-shuñ. His father's name was Kungah Taši, and that of

25. Tāntrik priests are generally married.

26. Netan, Šākya Señge, Taton-dsijig, Šerab Bum and Chhokyoñ Bum.

27. Phodai means a palace.

his mother Pundoñ-gyalmo.

He took the sacred vows of priesthood from the learned sage Seiñg-gyal-tshan and received the religious name of Geleg-pal-ssañ. He obtained the title of Master of *vidyā* by studying logic and sacred literature at the monastic colleges of Sakya and Namriñ. In the 16th year of his age he commenced a controversy with the celebrated Pudon Panchhen which resulted in the defeat of the latter. From this time Geleg-pal-ssañ became well-known for his learning. He also learned many *sūtra*-s and *mantra*-s from Je-tsun Reñdah and other learned Lamas. At the age of eighteen he visited the great Reformer Lo-ssañ Tag-pa,²⁸ from whom he heard many discourses on the vast and profound teachings of Buddha. On one occasion Tsaiñ-khapa had remarked of Geleg-pal-ssañ that he (the young and intelligent novice) would one day prove a great promoter of Buddhism. From the twenty-second year of his age for a period of thirteen years he studied under the great Reformer and mastered the *sūtra*-s and the *mantra*-s. He read the excellent and most learned aphorisms, and embraced the reformed doctrines of Tsaiñ-khapa with unbounded faith. He was invited by Rabtan Kunssañ, King of Gyal-tse,²⁹ to hold a disputation with the venerable Chho-je Rin-chhen. The controversy, however, did not take place on account of the latter withdrawing from the contest. Aided by the patronage of Tabtan he succeeded in founding the great monastery of Gyal-tse, which with its eighteen Tvasan (schools) still exists. At the age of forty-six he was exalted to the golden throne of Gañdan vacated by the death of the immediate successor of Tsaiñ-khapa. He met with great success in extending the Gelugpa system and thus promoting the work of reformation. In the fifty-fourth year of his age, in the year A. D., 1439 he passed away from mortal existence, to rest in the mansion of purity.

28. Tsaiñ-khapa, the great reformer of Tibet.

29. Vulgarly called Gyan-tse. At this time Tibet was ruled by many petty kings most of whom were called Dharma Rāja-s.

IX. SONAM-CHHO KYI-LAÑPO

This scholar was born in the year A. D., 1439 of humble parentage on the boundary of Tsān-ron. His complexion during childhood being very pale, his parents used to call him Pāhu (calf). When he grew up he was taken to the presence of Gañdan Thipa (the great abbot of the Gañdan monastery) and other professors of religion. When the abbot demanded his name, he said that it was Pāhu. The abbot smilingly said, "From this day your name will be Sonam-chhyog-kyi Lañ-po (the Bull of Fortune) as one day you will grow to be a Lañ or bull". He then admitted him into his monastery. At Gañdan, Sonam learnt the different branches of Buddhism, such as Abhiṣeka, Vyākaraṇa, Sūtra, Tantra, Meditation, Criticism and Upadeśa. He then returned to Tsān where he got many pupils. By explaining to them the Dharma Śāstra-s he obtained the title of "the lamp of religion". Consulting his tutelary deities he came to know that he would be required to construct a bell-metal image of Buddha full one cubit high. He constructed many images and also built the Udiñ Gonpa. Convinced that moral discipline and purity of conduct are the basis of all religion, he enforced the greatest strictness in the behaviour of his pupils. In the latter part of his life, he sent sixteen of his pupils to Taši-lhunpo and Gephel monasteries. With a view to accomplish the object of his life he retired into solitude, where, free from the confusion and clamour of monasteries, from inattention and idleness, and all anxieties of life, he could concentrate his attention on meditation and study. By his great erudition, application, and reflection he composed many elegant aphorisms and Śāstra-s. His tutelary deities granted him several interviews. Having obtained boundless Ahhijñāna he could find out supernatural secrets. At the age of sixty-six, in the year 1505 A. D., he quietly passed away from this world of pain and sorrow.

X. GYAL-WA TON-DUB

This great scholar was born in the year A. D. 1505 at

Lha-khu-phu-pen-sa situated on the north bank of the great river Tsāpo, near the famous monastery of Chamaliñ, in the district of Da-gya in west Tsāi. His father Sonam Dorje, and mother Jomkyi belonged to the family in which some of his illustrious predecessors were born. No sooner was the child born than it manifested its compassion for the misery of all unborn and migrating living beings, by uttering the six mystic syllables "Om.ma.ni-padme-hum," at which uncommon occurrence the inmates of the house, with wonder thinking that the infant must be some saint or divine personage, gave it the name Gonpo-kyab. From his childhood, Gonpo-kyab had been fond of solitude. He is said to have seen the faces of Buddha and Tsōñ-khapa, from whose hands he received benediction. When only eight years old, he saw in a vision, that, dressed in a white satin tunic and adorned with precious gems, he sat with a bell and a *dorje* in his hand on the disc of the full moon which rose resplendent from the top of the Segri mountain, and that the sound of the ringing of the bell filled the world. At the age of eleven he became a pupil of Je Tag-pa Ton-dub, abbot of Lha-tse monastery, from whom he received the vows of priesthood and the religious name of Lo-ssañ Ton-dub. He also heard sermons on Kālacakra, Bhairava, and the Bodhisattva Mārga. He received instructions in the Śūtra-s, Mantra-s and the system of mysticism called Guhya-samāja. Thereafter coming to Taśi-lhunpo he became a pupil of the abbot Lo-ssañ-she-ñen in logic, but soon becoming disgusted with his subtle but trifling and useless system he gave up his connection with his teacher. At the age of seventeen he became a pupil of the sage Chhokyi Dorje and fully mastered the volume of precepts called Gañdan Nen-gyud. Afterwards returning to Tsāi he resided at the temple of Pamachen near the Panam-Chomolha-ri.³⁰ Here his teacher the sage shewed him the volume of illusive mysticism. Lo-ssañ composed four volumes of Nen-gyud, (pleasing Tantra-s).

30. The Chomolhari mountain, from which the river Panam or Pena-nyañ-chhu takes its rise and, flowing by Gyan-tse and Panamjoñ, empties itself in the Tsāpo near Shiga-tse.

During his residence at the castle of Ta-gyu-dorje he acquainted himself with the terminology and signification of the classical writings both in the melodious Sanskrit and the insipid Tibetan. In this manner when his life and sainthood were uniformly onward, at the age of sixty-five, in the year 1570, he passed away from mundane suffering.

GEDUN DUB,³¹ THE FOUNDER OF THE MONASTERY OF TAŠI-LHUNPO

(One of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa)

This great Lama was born in the year A. D., 1391 at a place called Guṇ-ru in the Dok-pa³² country between Sakya and Taši-lhunpo. His mother's name was Jomo-namkye, and his father's Gonpo-dorje. They gave him the name of Pema Dorje. Unlike other children, he was very handsome and of an amiable and pleasing disposition. When a child he used to collect around him a number of children of his age, and talk to them gravely, as if he were their religious teacher. His sports consisted only in making images of Buddhas, erecting chhorten, shrines, altars and vihāra-s. By his command his playmates used to raise stone piles as if to repair the school walls. He seldom engaged in such sports as other children delighted in. At the age of seven he entered the Narthañ monastery, where he prosecuted his studies up to the fifteenth year of his age. Within this period he learnt the Tibetan, Hor (Tartar), Chinese, Wartu and Lanja³³ (ancient Buddhist Sanskrit) languages. In his fifteenth year he was admitted into the holy order by Dobpa-śerab, abbot of Narthañ, and given the name of Gedundub-pal. He now acquired great proficiency in grammar, polite learning, poetry, arithmetic and other sciences, and also became well acquainted with the

31. The title of Gyal-wa Rin-po-chhe was then not applied to the grand Lamas of Lhasa. They held the position of high priests only.

32. The mountainous portions of Tibet, are inhabited by the shepherds and yakheds who are called Dokpa.

33. Ranja of the Nepalese.

Sūtra-s and Tantra-s. At the age of twenty he took the vows of priesthood at the hands of the same abbot, and became famed for his strict observance of Vinaya or moral discipline. By his perseverance and assiduity he became an attentive śrāvaka, a powerful thinker, and an excellent meditator. Unmindful of his personal convenience and temporal aggrandisement, and always thoughtful of furthering the cause of religion and the well-being of living beings, he went at the age of twenty-five to the province of U' to see the great reformer Tsōn-khapa, from whom he received much religious instruction, and who was greatly pleased with his conduct. Gedun-dub also received religious instruction from the two great Buddhist scholars Semba-shhenpo Kun-ssāñ and the venerable Šerab-senje. Being well-acquainted with theology and meditative science he performed many religious ceremonies and observances for the good of all living beings. At the age of thirty-six he returned to the Tsāñ province where his reputation as a great scholar in theology, disputation and sacred literature was unrivalled. At the age of forty-three he constructed an exquisitely fine image of Buddha Maitreya in the vihāra of Khudensa. At the age of fifty-six he was directed in a vision, by Paldan Lhamo (the goddess Śrī Devī), to establish a religious institution. Accordingly he founded the great monastery of Taśi-lhunpo and furnished it richly with images and books,—an act which greatly extended the Buddhist faith. In the latter part of his life, labouring under pressure of spiritual business, he succeeded in constructing several thousands of images of Buddha, Maitreya, Tārā, and the Bodhisattvas, besides working a gigantic piece of tapestry. His reverence for the congregation and devotion to the Triad was immense. He wrote five large volumes of commentaries on the Sūtra-s and Mantra-s. He is said to have held communion with his tutelary deities, such as Bhairava, Tārā, Sarasvatī, Mañju-ghoṣa and Śrī Devī, from whom he occasionally received prophecies. The purity of his morals made him adored by gods and men. At the age of eighty-four, in the year A. D., 1478 on the morning of the 12th month he was delivered

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from mundane existence. Amidst showers of flowers and music of cymbals and drums he was conducted before Maitreya the regent of Sukhāvati, the paradise of the Buddhists.

PAN-CHHEN LO-SSAÑ-CHHO-KYI-GYAL-TSHAN.³⁴

The important town of Lhen, containing 600 families, is situated on the confines of Tsān-roñ. It was in the house of a wealthy noble of this town, where formerly many illustrious Lamas were born, that in the year 1569 A. D., Chho-kyi Gyal-tshan was born. His father's name was Pon-tshan-tsherin Paljor and that of his mother Tso-chan. The Abbot Tshem-ta named him Chho-gyal-paldan-ssañpo. Even in his childhood he is said to have given many proofs of his wonderful memory: while only three years old he was found able to recite the *Mañju-śri-nāma-nidhi*. At the age of thirteen he was initiated into the holy order by Kha-dub-yeše and given the name of Chho-kyi Gyal-tshan. Under the tutorship of this Lama, he learnt the mystical worship called Guhya-samāja. At the age of fourteen he was placed at the head of Weñ-gon monastery. He propitiated Yañ-chen-ma, the goddess of learning, for seven days, at the end of which he saw her face, and welcomed her by singing seventeen hymns. The goddess in return presented him with a cup of gem-like fruits, by virtue of which divine gift, within the course of a month, he learnt by heart five volumes of Tsöñkhapa's precepts. During this period, one night, he saw in a vision the image of Buddha, as high as a mountain, shining with the brightness of myriads of suns, and approaching him to confer benediction. At the age of seventeen he entered the Thosamlin college of Taši-lhunpo, where he studied psychology and logic, and obtained the high degree of Master of learning. At the age of twenty-two he was ordained priest by Pan chhen Yar-phel. In the latter part of the same year, he went to U' to visit the sacred images. Here he saw several happy and auspicious omens. Going to

34. First Pan-chhen Rin-po-chhe.

Gāḥdan he disputed with the learned in argumentative science, and secured for himself a world-wide celebrity. At the age of thirty-one he was raised to the sacerdotal chair of Taśi-lhunpo, during his tenure of which he ably turned the wheel of Dharma to promote the diffusion of the sacred religion. He was the first to introduce the annual prayer-fair at Taśi-lhunpo, executed twenty-three satin embroidered pictures, numerous tapestries, paintings and copper and clay images. He richly furnished the recluses' monasteries with religious necessaries. He ordained afterwards the Dalai Lama Yon-ton Gya-tsho into the priesthood and taught him the Kālacakra ritualism. As a punishment for their internal dissensions, he employed the monks of Taśi-lhunpo in erecting three lofty chhorten within the monastery walls. He entertained the monks of Sera Dapuṇ and Gāḥdan several times, distributing gold pieces among them. At the invitation of the Rājā of Guge he visited upper Tibet. At the age of forty-four he applied to the collected body of monks to be permitted to retire from the abbotship of Taśi-lhunpo, but their earnest entreaties dissuaded him from the resolve. After the death of the Dalai Lama, the Gelugpa church having waned greatly, he was invited to Lhasa where the Synod of the Lamas under the presidentship of the abbots of Sera and Dapuṇ appointed him to the pontifical throne of Gāḥdan, which high office he meritoriously filled. During his incumbency there arose a quarrel between the southern Mongolians and the Tibetans, which ended in the invasion of Tibet by Thīngir-tho, the nomad king of Khokhonur.³⁵ Thīngir-tho's armies slew 500 Tibetan soldiers. The armies of Tsān and U' consisting of nearly 100,000 soldiers assembled at the foot of Chagpori in the suburbs of Lhasa. Immense hordes of nomad warriors reinforced Thīngir-tho's armies which were thus enabled to besiege the Tibetans and cut off their supplies. Unable to bear the sight of the distress of his countrymen, Chho-kyi-gyal-tshan sued for peace and delivered his country from the

35. Kho-kho-nur.

hands of the enemies by the payment of a large quantity of gold and silver. At the age of fifty-three he initiated and subsequently ordained to the priesthood the successor incarnate of Yonton-gya-tsho. It was during this period that he deputed Se-chhen-chho-je to the court of Thai-tsün-bogto-khan,³⁶ the first of the Manchu Emperors of China, praying him to assume the protectorship of Tibet. The Emperor gladly accepted the offer and sent him return presents of great value and rarity. Counting from the Emperor Shun-chi, his son and successor, all the Emperors adhered to the Gelugpa church. This wise step which was calculated to save Tibet from the hands of the fierce and bloodthirsty Mongols, proved a failure; for, a few years after, the warlike Gušri-khan, the son and successor of Thüngir-tho invaded Tibet, dethroned all the petty princes of Tibet, of Tsan and U', and brought all its eighteen provinces under his single sway. He greatly admired the vast learning and moral purity of Chho-kyi-gyal-tshan, whom he afterwards appointed his spiritual guide. Chho-kyi-gyal-tshan immediately before his death received an embassy from the Emperor of China, which brought him a letter written in gold and many precious and choice presents. It was the noble and generous conqueror Gušri-khan who made a present of the sovereignty of Tibet to the fifth Gyalwa Lo-ssan Gya-tsho, thenceforth called Dalai Lama.

Besides delivering Tibet from many political vicissitudes and clerical crises, he did a great many acts of social and religious utility. He wrote five volumes of sacred aphorism, and introduced the Kham-tshan.³⁷ He classified the monks into orders. He received into monkhood more than 50,000 novices, and performed the ceremony of final ordination over nearly 100,000 monks. His charities amounted to 3 lakhs of gold sanis, or 18 millions of rupees.³⁸ Among his spiritual

36. The Emperor Shu-chi.

37. System of national Hostels.

38. A gold sani is equal to Rs. 60.

sons, the 1st and the 2nd Dalai Lamas were the most eminent; and among his lay-pupils, mostly princess and nobles of the country, Guśri-khan was the most renowned. At the age of ninety-three, at 12 A. M., on the 10th of the 2nd lunar month, in the year 1662 A. D., he passed away from this world, after a glorious and most successful career, one of Tibet's most illustrious personages. The Chhyag-jo³⁹ of Taśi-lhunpo and the rich patrons of religion in Tibet conjointly subscribed Rs. 600,000 (10,000 saṅs) to erect a gilt copper-roofed tomb over his remains.

LO-SSAÑ YE-ŚE-PAL-SSAÑ-PO

This Lama was born of a high and noble family of Thab-gyal in a village of some importance in the province of Tsāñ. His father's name was De-chhen-gyalpo and his mother's Śerab Dolma. Being at once recognized as the incarnation of the late Pan-chhen, he was conducted to Taśi-lhunpo in great pomp and procession, on the anniversary of the emancipation of Tsoṅkhapa, on the 25th of the 10th lunar month. He easily learnt to read and write, and from the Dalai Lama Lo-ssañ-gya-tsho, he received the vows of monkhood and the name of Lo-ssañ-yeśe. After his return to Taśi-lhunpo, he was made the president of the grand prayer-meeting called Tsho-chhen. Even in his boyhood he won by his amiable and engaging behaviour the affection and reverence of all men. He heard many of the Dalai Lama's sermons. At the age of twenty, he was ordained by Kon-chhog Gyal-tshan. At the age of thirty-two he sent a congratulatory deputation to Pekin. The Emperor in reply addressed a letter to him inviting him to Pekin, but he begged to be excused for fear of small-pox. At the age of thirty-five he gave the vows of priesthood to the incarnation of the Dalai Lama and named him Lo-ssañ Rin-chhen. At the age of forty he ordained him to the priesthood, but this Dalai having died shortly after, an incarnation was discovered who received at his hands the vows and the name of

Lo-ssañ Kal-ssañ. In the year 1713, he received a letter written in gold in three different languages—Tibetan, Mongol and Manchu—from the Emperor of China couched in friendly terms. The Imperial seal-keeper Ja-sag Lama accompanied the Envoy, carrying with him the Imperial Insignia and a large Thamka or golden seal in which was inscribed the title Pan-chhen Erte-ni.⁴⁰ The Panchhen Rinpoche returned a suitable reply with excellent presents for the Emperor. He subsequently ordained the 3rd Dalai, Kal-ssañ Gya-tsho, and the grand Imperial Lama of Pekin, Chañ-kya Rinpo Dorje⁴¹, and taught them sacred literature. By the faithful assistance of king Lha-ssañ of Tsāñ, Tsherin Ton-dub of Jungar and Pese-ba-dur,⁴² the exertions of this Panchhen in promoting the cause of human good bore excellent fruits. In the year 1728 the Emperor send Ali-ha Ampaṇ to settle the boundary between U' and Tsāñ. It was at this time when the kingdom of Tibet was about to fall into the hands of prince Sonam-top-gye, after the abdication of king Miwañ Pholha, that the Imperial Commissioners requested the Panchhen Rinpoche to accept the sovereignty of all the provinces of Tibet lying between Khambala and Kailāśa mountain. The Panchhen declined the offer several times on the plea of old age.

He said that the government of so large a country and its responsibilities were too great for him to undertake, and that he would content himself with his ancient possessions. But the Commissioners insisted on his acceptance, saying the Imperial mandate could not be disobeyed. He, therefore, consulted the then nominal king of Tibet, as to whether his compliance with the Emperor's commands would not clash with his interests. The king who was a pious prince advised him to accept the offer. The Panchhen, therefore,

40. Er-te-ni is Mongolian, and is equivalent to Rin-po-chhe in Tibetan or Ratna in Sanskrit. Pan is an abbreviation of Pandita, and Chhen means great in Tibetan.

41. Called Changay Lama by Bogle.

42. In Mongolian Bahdur means a warrior or hero. Bahdur is probably the same as the Hindustani Bāhādūr.

assumed the sovereignty of the whole of Tibet lying to the west of Panam, including the districts of Lha-tse, Phun-tsholiñ Ñamriñ, Joñkha, Ki-roñ, Ñari-kor-sum, and relinquished the possession of Phari, Gyal-tse, Yar-do-tsho, and other places to the government of Lhasa. He wrote eighteen volumes of sacred hymns and precepts. The number of monks that received the vows from him was very great. Thus devoting his life to the good of humanity and living beings he departed from this world at the age of seventy five, on the 5th of the 8th lunar month. A tomb with a gilt copper dome, like that of his predecessor, but somewhat larger, was erected to his memory at a cost of 12,000 satis or Rs. 720,000.

PAN-CHHEN LO-SSAÑ PALDAN-YE-ŚE.⁴³

This great sovereign Lama was born at Taśi-tse, a village of Shañ⁴⁴ in Tsāñ. His father, named Tsāñ-lha, was distinguished for his wisdom, courage and frankness. His mother Jom-kyi was an honest and good natured woman. Previous to his birth there appeared to his father in a vision a golden chhorten, glittering with lustre, and his mother saw in a vision Panchhen Lo-ssañ Ye-śe presenting her with a life-reviving vessel and some consecrated pills. There appeared rainbows, resplendent with five variegated hues in all directions, five yellow flowers growing out of a single calyx and corn bearing five pods and three ears. All men were singing and dancing with spontaneous mirth and joy. Amid such auspicious and happy prognostics, at dawn, on Saturday, the 11th of the 11th lunar month, in the year 1737, Panchhen Paldan Ye-śe was born. The extreme fairness of his person, and above all his lovely face attracted the notice of all men. At the end of the 2nd month the child lisped *om mani*.⁴⁵ As he grew up, he was observed to delight at the sight of the monks of Taś-ilhun-

43. This is abridged from the Nam-thar, or biography of Paldan-Ye-śe, written in Tibetan in two volumes containing 2000 pages.

44. Name of a district.

45. The sacred Vija of the Buddhist as well as of the Brāhmaṇa-s.

po. Whenever he saw an Ācārya (Indian Buddhist) he used to say Bhāla, Bhālā.⁴⁶ Sometimes holding the *dorje* and bell and at other times with joined palms, he used to sit in a pensive mood, as if to read or write. He was never known to delight in or amuse himself with ordinary and vain sports like other vulgar boys. When only three years old, he was found continually engaged in worshipping a bright and handsome image of Buddha. The fame of this wonderful child reached Taśi-lhunpo, when the Don-ñer Lo-ssan Tsoṇ-du was assured by many of the reappearance of the soul of the late Panchhen in the person of the said child. Accordingly, he equipped himself with some of the personal properties of the late Panchhen Rinpoche, such as the rosary, *dorje*, and bell, the articles used in consulting gods, mixed with several imitation sets, and arrived at Taśi-tse. On being subjected to the ordeal of finding out the real properties, the princely child easily and unerringly picked out all that belonged to the late Panchhen, and moreover called Don-ñer by his name, though he had never heard it before. This excellent manner of acquitting himself established beyond doubt the identity of his soul with that of the late Panchhen. The princely child, now four years old, was therefore, brought to Taśi-lhunpo with great pomp and procession. The Dalai Lama Kalssan Gya-tsho gave him the name of Lo-ssan Paldan Ye-sé. On this occasion the Emperor of China, most of the Mongolian princes, the Tāranātha Lama of Khalkha, the government of Lhasa with its dependent chiefs, and the three great monasteries of Sera, Dapuṇi and Gaḥdan sent him innumerable presents of various sorts. About this time a shower of flowers fell from the sky, which glittered with many a rainbow and conical halo of light. The atmosphere was laden with sweet fragrance. On a background of variegated clouds, the shapes of a lion, a tiger, an elephant, a horse and a man under a canopy of radiance, surrounded by innumerable flags, were manifest to the eyes of all. During the sixth year of his age he was carefully instructed in aphorisms and mysticism by his

46. In ordinary Hindi meaning "Good", "very good".

chief spiritual minister Lo-ssañ Yoñ-dsin,⁴⁷ from whom he received the vows of monkhood when only seven years old. In the 10th lunar month of the same year he took his seat on the chair in the grand worship hall. On this occasion also, the Emperor of China, the Dalai Lama, the king of Tibet Miwañ Sonam-tob and the different Mongol princes sent him presents, which amounted to more than 30,000 pieces of horse-hoof shaped silver, 5,000 gold sañs, 10,000 pieces of satin, and 20 porters' loads of precious stones, such as turquoises, corals, cat's-eyes, onyx, amber, and pearl: so that Taši-Ihunpo overflowed with riches. The young Panchhen gave sumptuous dinners to all the monasteries of U' and Tsāñ about 700 in number and distributed alms consisting of silver pieces to all the monks. At the age of eleven he came to Lhasa to visit the Dalai Lama. Although he received instruction in the Śāstra-s from the Dalai, yet he was seated on the right hand side on a throne as high as the Dalai's own. After a short stay at Lhsa he returned to Tsāñ. At the age of fifteen he again visited Lhasa, heard some of the sermons of the Dalai Lama, made offering to the two sacred images of Akṣobhya and Gautama, entertained the Sera, Dapuñ and Gaḥdan monasteries with the tea and soup meal and distributed a great deal of money for charitable purposes. At the age of twenty he visited Lhasa a third time and received ordination to the priesthood from the Dalai Lama Kal-ssañ Gya-tsho. This time his great liberality in religious donations and endowments, offerings to the sacred shrine, and alms of a silver sañ (Rs. 2½) to each of the monks of Sera, Dapuñ, Gaḥdan, Potala, Rādiñ and various other monasteries, numbering 118 in U' and 370 in Tsāñ, made his name famous far and wide. There were few beggars who did not partake of his bounty. He also spent immense sums of money in administering medicines to the sick. The twenty-first year of the Panchhen's age was inaugurated by the advent to Taši-Ihunpo of Chāṇkyā Rinpo-chhe, the Emperor's spiritual guide, the

47. His name is Dorje-dsin-pa, the Vajradhara or the holder of the Thunderbolt.

greatest of the Imperial high priests of the celestial Empire, to see the Viceregent of Buddha in the person of the Panchhen Rinpoche. He made innumerable kinds of presents among which the following were the principal ones : 6 rosaries of pearls, coral and amber, 20 horse-hoof silver plates, 100 suits of Tartar robes of the very best China satin and numberless scarves. Chaṇkya Rinpoche stayed at Taši-lhunpo for several months, and received from the Panchhen lessons in the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s. In the year 1759 the Panchhen Rinpoche sanctified the golden tomb of the late Dalai Lama, whose soul was reported to have appeared in the person of the child. At the special request of Emperor, he visited Lhasa. On examination he found that the incarnation was unmistakeably genuine, and gave him the name of Lo-ssaṇ Jampal Gya-tsho. After lavishing alms on the various monasteries he returned to Taši-lhunpo. Three years afterwards he again visited Lhasa to place the young Dalai on the throne of Potala. He commemorated the occasion by giving grand dinners to the temporal and spiritual lords of the country. The amount of gold and silver expended on this occasion could not be estimated. During the return journey to Taši-lhunpo he visited Gyal-tse monastery of which place he richly endowed. At Taši-lhunpo he administered the vows of monkhood to several thousand novices. At the age of twenty-eight he visited Lhasa and initiated the young Dalai Lama into the priesthood. In the year 1766 he received a deputation from the Emperor of China, consisting of Asakhan Kwai Ampan, the keeper of the grand seal Nag-waṇ Paljor, a 3rd grade mandarin Khi-ya-thelen, together with twenty other officials. They brought him the Emperor's letter written on thirteen gold tablets, each an inch thick, 3 inches broad and about 20 inches long. The following are the contents of the letter :

"The commands of the all-powerful Hwai⁴⁸ (Emperor) derived of old from heaven, extend over all the world. The four great oceans alone encompass the reign of his excellent laws which are essential for the wellbeing and happiness of

48. A Chinese word.

mankind. Throughout all the quarters in all ages, the fame of Hwān's merciful and generous protection is proclaimed. He adores and venerates the sacred creed of the yellow hat of sublime precepts, whose saints, pre-eminently holy in the moral virtues, have toiled according to the canonical rules. Thou, O precious Panchhen ! having fully comprehended the teachings of that sacred creed, sittest over the head of the Dalai Lama. Thy illustrious predecessor has obtained sainthood. Thou, too, during this sojourn in the world by the observance of discipline and moral rectitude, shouldst obtain sanctity. Till now thou hast grown more exalted. By this grant of a golden diploma and seal the all-powerful Hwān respectfully appoints thee to the dignities and offices of the spiritual ancestors, to be the sovereign spiritual and temporal, of the great province of Tsān. For the propagation of the sacred religion over all the earth, and for the spread of thy holy fame far and wide, thou wilt as of old have a general authority over all Tibet. Vouchsafe the blessing of thy mercy and prayers over us in this central dominion ! The 4th day of the 1st winter month, in the 30th year of the reign of the Emperor Chhiñ-Luñ⁴⁹ (of Nam-kyon or celestial protector)."

To this the Panchhen returned a dignified reply. In the year 1770 he was invited to Lhasa to supervise the education of the young Dalai Lama. This time also he lavished his bounties over the monks and the beggars of the country. "In the year 1771 he received an embassy from the Duk-desi (Deba Rāja) of Bhutan named Shidar (bShi dar) which brought him presents of some value. The Panchhen in return deputed one of his secretaries to Bhutan with a letter of advice. Being informed to the misconduct of the Deba Rāja towards the Ghaṭika Rājā (Rājā of Cooch Behar) whose territories had been invaded by the Bhutanese and who had himself been led in chains to the capital of Bhutan, the Panchhen sent a messenger to Bhutan urging the immediate release of the captive Rājā. The Deba wrote him to say that he (the Deba) implicitly obeyed the command of the Lama by at once setting

49. In English works on China he is called Kyen-lung.

the Rājā at liberty. The receipt of this letter greatly delighted the Panchhen. In the meantime the armies of the Ghaṭika Rājā had applied for help from the owner of Baṅgala (Warren Hastings), who having espoused the Ghaṭika Rājā's cause,⁵⁰ made certain proposals to the Deba, to which the latter did not agree. This difference gave rise to something like a war between the Lord of Baṅgala and Deba Shidar. It resulted in disasters being brought upon the Deba and in the occupation of a portion of his territory by the Lord of Baṅgala. To avert this calamity, Deba Shidar applied for mercy and intervention to this quarter,⁵¹ at which the Panchhen, unable to bear the miseries of a large number of afflicted people, sent a Deputy to the Court of the Lord of Baṅgala, entreating him to forgive the Deba Rājā his misconduct, to restore him his territories, and to put an end to further hostilities. Pleased with the mild and pacific tone of the letter, the Lord of Baṅgala at once complied with the Panchhen's requests. Thus by dispelling the causes of rancour and quarrel between the two powers, he established amity and peace, the direct consequence of which was the establishment of an unrestricted commercial intercourse between the different nations".

With a view to make offerings and oblations to the great Bodhisattva at Dorje-dan,⁵² to the sacred cavern of Gayā-gaurī, to the great city of Prayāga, and the great river Nairāñjanā (now called Lilajan or Phalgu), he despatched to India Tuṇ-rampa of Doṇ-tse Lo-ssan-tsheriñ,⁵³ and three Lamas together with nine young monks. The three Lamas, being unable to stand the excessive heat of the country, perished on the way. The Tibetan travellers had to encounter many difficulties and fears arising from the immense distance

50. Rājā of Cooch Behar. 51. Tibet.

52. Dorje-dan means Vajrāsana or the diamond seat of Buddha at Buddha Gayā.

53. A town of considerable size near Gyal-tse. It is well known for being the spot where the spiritual prime minister usually takes his birth.

of the journey, the burning heat of the country, the venomous serpents, the wild and ferocious animals, and more especially from the bands of robbers that infested the country at large; and to crown their troubles, the princes of the frontier states had stationed guards to stop foreign intercourse. Yet, depending on the efficacy of the blessing of their spiritual Lord,⁵⁴ they succeeded in accomplishing their object. On declaring that they were the Taśi Lama's priests, sent on pilgrimage, the Rājās of the frontier states did not molest them. On the other hand they received friendly assurances and warm receptions from the different classes of people in India. The Bhūpāl of Vārāṇasī (now called Kāśī), named Chete Sing Bāhādur,⁵⁵ to whom they carried the Panchhen's letter, gave them a cordial reception. He kindly provided the travellers with passports and letters, patent which enabled them to travel in wooden conveyances,⁵⁶ as respectable parties. The same prince, having furnished them with convoys, they reached Dorje-dan in a fortnight from Vārāṇasī. At Dorje-dan they made grand offerings and performed divine services of five kinds before the image of the Mahā Bodhisattva, and paid reverence to the Tirtha-dharas. and Śivaruddhi. They gave dinners to priests, beggars and other men. At this time, hearing that the Mahāguru Taśi Lama's offerings had reached Dorje-dan, people from different quarters assembled near the spot to see the sight.

These spectators, full of faith, joining their palms, paid homage to the Supreme dispenser of mercy according to their own religious persuasions. They also made presents of edibles and various sorts of articles to these Tibetan worshippers. The travellers, having made their offerings at other important places of pilgrimage, arrived before the Prince of Vārāṇasī, who, according to the Mahāguru's commands, conducted religious services at the Buddhist shrine of Vārāṇasī. He showed much hospitality and kindness to these Gelōns⁵⁷ with

54. Panchhen Rinpoche.

55. Chait-sing, the Rājā of Benares.

56. Palanquins.

57. Buddhist priests in Tibet are called Gelōn (Skr. Bhikṣu).

readiness and pleasure. At last, in order to pay homage to the Mahāguru Taši Lama, Chete Sing Bāhādur deputed his general Lālā Kāsmīrī Mall and two of his officers, Gusankshi-puri and Sopa-ram, to Taši-lhunpo. Accompanying the Gelon-s they safely arrived before His Holiness. The account of the successful termination of this perilous pilgrimage, the offerings and oblations made to the sacred places and shrines, the hospitality of the natives of India, Chete Sing Bāhādur's cordial reception of the monks and more particularly the arrival of the Indian envoys, with presents and letters, transported His Holiness with joy. Chete Sing's letter which was written in Nāgarī, when translated into Tibetan, ran thus :

"To the most precious and exalted personage, the all-knower who sits like the parent of all living beings that inhabit the region encompassed by the heaven and earth.

"We are in receipt of your favour, the perusal of which has afforded us as much pleasure as could be derived from an actual meeting. The enclosure consisting of satin and gold has been placed by me on the crown of my head as the best of blessings. In accordance with your request, I arranged for the comfortable journey of the Gelon-s sent hither by you. They visited all the important shrines and places of pilgrimage, such as Dorje-dan, Prayāga and others. I provided them with letters of recommendation and passports as required by them, by means of which they travelled from place to place, well received by all men. After fulfilling their mission they have returned here. The bearer of this letter Lālā Kāsmīrī Mall is my faithful minister and general. I entreat you to be kind to him as well as to his companions, Gusankshi-puri and Sopa-ram, who are also my favorite and trustworthy servants. Every act of kindness and benevolence rendered to them will be gratefully acknowledged by me. I also entreat you to bless me now and then with your kind favours. We shall also send letters to your Holiness. All news about this quarter will be communicated to you by my minister General Kāsmīrī Mall and the Gelon-s. This letter of mine written

in Nāgari I despatch with the accompanying presents, consisting of a model temple of the Mahā-Bodhi-Maṇḍa of Dorje-dan, an excellent watch studded with precious stones, a mirror, tusks of elephant, *yanti* (jade) and many other curious articles."

His Holiness was exceedingly pleased with these presents and expressions. On the 11th of the 10th lunar month a gentleman, named Bogle Saheb (George Bogle), with a small retinue arrived in Tibet from Baṅgala (Bengal). After making presents which consisted of many curious articles of glass and toys, he solicited an interview with His Holiness. He was well received, admitted into the hall of audience and seated on a state cushion. After tea was served, His Holiness and Bogle Saheb conversed together on different topics in the Nāgari language. On the day of the full moon of the same month, Bogle Saheb's party were entertained at a grand dinner and received many presents. The Panchhen often entered into long discourse with Bogle Saheb and evinced great delight at his answers and questions. His Holiness's kind attachment to Bogle Saheb resembled that of a spiritual guide to his disciple or of a Lama to his almsgiver. An account of his conversation with Bogle Saheb, and his correspondence with the Lord of Baṅgala will be found elsewhere. On the 7th of the 3rd month of the following year, after a residence of five months in Tibet, Bogle Saheb accompanied by Dagdor Saheb (Dr. Hamilton) and retinue, after attending a dinner given by His Holiness, started for Baṅgala. Making the usual salutation by prostrating themselves before His Holiness, loaded with excellent presents consisting of silk apparel and other things, and furnished with the Panchhen's reply to the letter of the Lord of Baṅgala, they rode off. A few days afterwards His Holiness dismissed the Envoy, General Kāśmīrī Mall, with two of his assistants, loading them with presents, and furnishing the Envoy with a letter for the Prince of Vārāṇasī in the Āryāvarta.

In the year 1777 the Panchhen visited Lhasa and administered the vows of ordination to the Dalai Lama. He also dis-

tributed alms to the different monasteries of Lhasa. At the age of forty-two in the 1st lunar month of the year 1779, he received an invitation from the emperor of China. The letter was written on a gold tablet, and inclosed was a pearl rosary. After compliments and enumeration of various titles, the emperor continued : "Most precious Panchhen Erteni, I beg thee to honour me with a visit. I long to see they face". The Panchhen in reply wrote thus : "I too long to gratify myself by the sight of the golden face of your Imperial Majesty. Accordingly I have resolved to start for Pekin". On the receipt of this, the Emperor in the course of a few months sent three letters, one after another, thanking His Holiness for the promised visit. On the 17th of the 6th lunar month, on a Friday, at noon, His Holiness left Taṣi-lhunpo for Pekin, little thinking that he would never return to his own country. At Yañ-pa-chen great preparations were made for his reception. Here the Dalai Lama, the King of Tibet Thi-chhen Erteni Noman Khan, the two Ampan, the four ministers of State, the Lamas, princes, nobles and householders of the realm, assembled together to welcome His Holiness and pay him farewell honours. They all approached him with their parting offerings which consisted of gold, silver, blankets ecclesiastical vestments, ponies, mules, yaks, jo,⁵⁸ and countless other things. The Dalai accompanied him to a distance of 8 days' journey, after which he returned to Lhasa from a place called Taṣi-thān.

He met⁵⁹ with his messengers on their way back from Pekin at Lhundub-phug, a place on the west of Chha-dan-la in the Kham country. Here he made a halt of three days which he occupied in conversation with the messengers. The emperor, in making inquiries, is said to have observed :

"How is the health of Panchhen Erteni ? How is that of the Dalai Lama ? Is the Dalai Lama making fair progress in gaining accomplishments ? Request him, in my name not to fail

58. A cross breed between a yak and a cow.

59. 28th of the 7th lunar months 41 days after starting from Taṣi-lhunpo.

to honour me with a visit next year, by which time a great temple, like that of Potala, will have been erected here in China. This year, also, I have raised a monastery like that of Taši-lhunpo for him.

"My mind is eagerly waiting for the day when the Panchhen Erteni's advent will sanctify this place. I am occupied with that thought alone. When His Holiness arrives in the vicinity, I shall send Wang and the chief ministers of state to escort him hither. My heart will overflow with joy, when he will arrive here to converse with me. The very sight of his thrice-sacred face will increase my moral merits ten thousandfold".

So saying he handed over to them his portrait to be presented to the Panchhen as a token of his deep respect for him. When the letter with the enclosures and the portrait were laid before the Panchhen, he was transported with joy. He paid great reverence to the portrait, keeping it always before him. Then, by slow marches he reached Ku-bum.⁶⁰ Here he stayed till the 10th of the 3rd lunar month, residing in the new palace erected by the emperor of China at a cost of Rs. 2,50,000. Here in the Amdo country, there were 50,000 monks in all the monasteries, whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one san to each monk. From the date of his starting from Taši-lhunpo to the date of his arrival at Pekin, not a single month passed in which he did not receive five or six letters with gold tablets and rich presents. The Emperor's arrangements for his comfortable accommodation and convenience were complete. Each halting station was furnished with 2,000 packponies, 100 dromitories, 40 Mongol felt tents, 100 cotton tents, stuffed seats and cushions, chairs, and other furniture and utensils. A daily allowance of Rs. 3,325 was allotted from the Imperial exchequer to meet the daily expenses of the Panchhen's party. At each station there waited a chamberlain, a master cook, a Don-Ner,⁶¹ a store-keeper, several purveyors, a chaplain, a Dorje-

60. Vulgarly pronounced Kumbum. The birthplace of Tsongkapa.

61. The receiver of guests.

lopon or master of the ceremonies, a physician, a chief of the grooms, orderlies, cooks and key bearers. The Panchhen Rinpoche's party consisted of 500 monks, 100 soliders or guards, 800 servants, 100 clerks, besides a few Indian Āchārya.⁶², Mongols, Chinese and Tibetan deputations, consisting of Le-hu Ampan, a few officers of the Ampan's staff, Erteni Nomankhan, Ta-lama⁶³ and many other officers of State. A large convoy of provisions also accompanied them. The Emperor sent for him his own private dress, belt, fur hat, and other necessaries of a journey. Fruits and many sorts of dainties, and delicious dishes, and a few fish some of which were about thirteen feet long. The latter, though considered very delicious by the Chinese, were scrupulously avoided by the Panchhen and his party.⁶⁴ All the Lamas and chiefs of Amdo and Kham, the laity and the clergy, together with the princes of the 106 Mongol principalities, and the governors of the thirteen provinces of China proper, came to pay him obeisance and receive benedictions from his hand. Even on the way he gave the vows of monkhood to three lakhs of novices. By these kind and generous acts he won the affection of all people. He started from Ku-bum on the 10th of the 3rd month, and reached Siliṅ fort, from which by slow marches he arrived at a place called Pelokhe, where a deputation from the Emperor, consisting of the High Commissioner Ta-phu, high Lama, Šerab-dorje, and others waited upon him. They brought him the following reception presents: a yellow sedan chair with golden spire, a pair of yellow and red umbrellas, a pair of red and yellow fans, embroidered with figures of dragons in gold, and numerous other things. Then slowly marching on he arrived at Taika.⁶⁵ where the Imperial high priest Chankya Rinpoche, accompanied by

62. Pandits of Buddhists.

63. High rank Lamas are called Ta-lamas by the Chinese.

64. At Taṣi-lhunpo fish life is considered very sacred. Although the rivers teem with varieties of fish, scarcely do the people of Tsāñ kill or eat them.

65. Called in Tibetan Taṣi-chhog-phe.

the Emperor's 6th son, also arrived to receive him. The meeting was an event of great joy and happiness to both parties. After exchanging presents, the high priest presented the Panchhen with the Emperor's letter written on a gold tablet, accompanied by a Lama crown studded with pearls, pearl rosaries, one of the best steeds from the Emperor's stable, a Yan-te (jade) saddle, gold pots, and fine sorts of dresses.

From here he started off in advance 2000 loads of Tibetan articles, consisting of images, blankets, shawls, &c., and travelling slowly on he arrived on the shore of Dolonor⁶⁶ where he halted for 8 days. Here more than a million of Mongols assembled to receive benediction from his hands. He was then invited to a big monastery belonging to the Chankya Rinpoche, where, after giving dinners to the monks of 12 monasteries, he distributed alms to the mendicants. Proceeding on by slow marches, on the 22nd of the 7th month, he arrived at Ye-hor.⁶⁷ Here he was met by the chief ministers of state, ordered to be in attendance for His Holiness's reception. Party after party of the nobles and chiefs of the empire arrived, all of whom dismounting from their horses, thrice prostrated themselves before His Holiness. After the usual presentation of a khatag they received benediction from his hands. The procession of these nobles was a pretty sight indeed. At midday they conducted His Holiness to the top of a hill to show him the scenery of the surrounding country. His Holiness was delighted with the extreme beauty of the place. The green mountains and valleys, according as they were near or distant, resembled heaps of emerald or sapphire. The disposition of the natural obelisks of rocks, resembling so many piles of chhorten, and the fine verdure, with rows of juniper and birch, around numerous gardens, ravished his eyes. On all sides, there were bowers and orchards bearing varieties of flowers and fruits. The green corn harvest that

66. Lake Dolonor or seven lakes.

67. Visited by Col. Prijevalsky who calls it Jchole or Yehoie. The Chinese call it Ye-hor and the Tibetans call it Tshe-jole.

filled the country, the endless springs, and silvery cataracts that poured forth their foaming water from the neighbouring mountains, and the charming serenade from the warbling groves greatly refreshed him who was so long tired by continual marches in the endless steppes of Mongolia, and broke the monotony of his journey. The Emperor's palace, environed by numerous shrines, appeared like a celestial mansion. The most remarkable of all the buildings at Ye-hor were the two monasteries called Potala and Taši-lhunpo, newly erected after their prototypes of U and Tsān. Their workmanship and architectural finish struck him with wonder. Just as he was stepping to the back of this sublime eminence, there arrived, accompanied by Chākyā Rinpoche and many high officials, the Emperor's prime minister Ar-a-phu-gūn, to conduct His Holiness before the Emperor's presence. First they presented him with the Emperor's khatag⁶⁸ and with tea. He was then conducted, carried on a State sedan, towards the palace gate, the left and right sides of which were lined with innumerable banners and umbrellas, amidst the solemn and imposing music of drums, cymbals, and clarionets. The Emperor, descending from his throne, came to the door of the reception-room to welcome His Holiness. As soon as he saw the Emperor's face, the Panchhen was attempting to kneel down, when the Emperor stopped him. Then the Emperor, presenting the auspicious khatag, softly touched his hands and said—"Welcome, Lama! Is your Holiness's health all right? On account of the length and tediousness of the journey, I believe your Holiness had become exceedingly fatigued?"

"By your Imperial Majesty's mercy and kindness," replied the Panchhen, "no fatigue or weariness could do me harm".

After a copious exchange of sincere and polite expressions, the Emperor, holding his hand, conducted him to

68. Khatag means a presentation scarf.

the top of a spacious throne where seated, confronting each other, they conversed as intimate friends. The Emperor added, "Your Holiness has arrived here at a very happy and auspicious time. Today is the 70th anniversary of my birth. I am exceedingly delighted." After a few minutes' stay here, the Emperor conducted him to the great palace, where seated as before, they both refreshed themselves with delicious tea and engaged in conversation. On this occasion the Emperor took off from his own neck the necklace of pearls of inestimable value, each pearl as large as an apricot—and put it on the Lama's neck. He also presented His Holiness with a yellow satin hat, the top of which was adorned with a pearl as large and regular as a hen's egg. Presently, they went to the new monastery of Taṣi-lhunpo, where a grand and sumptuous dinner was served. As soon as it was finished, the Panchhen's presents were laid before the Emperor. They consisted of a silver mandal, images of Buddha, Tsöñkhapa and Sambhara wrought in solid gold, one thousand gold sañs,⁶⁹ 1000 saddle ponies, turquoises, corals, and amber, besides incense sticks,⁷⁰ European broadcloth, Tibetan boardcloth and shawls, all of which formed 100 horse-loads. The Jasag Lama's⁷¹ presents to the Emperor were half as much as those of his master, the Panchhen Rinpoche. The Sopon-Chhenpo and chamberlain⁷² also made presents, each half as much as the above. The Emperor, at the first meeting, had made the following presents : Mandala-s of gold and silver, three excellent embroidered pictures of the three Tantrik systems—Guhya-Samāja, Sambra Cakra, and Bhairava Cakra—a few of the finest gold painted China cups, a gold mendicant's platter, a gold spittoon, a gold watersprinkler, a pair of gold vases, a gold incenseburner, a square brocade carpet studded with turquoise; many articles of jade and crystal, 500 scarves, 500

69. A gold sañ in equivalent to 60 Rupees.

70. Called in China joss-sticks.

71. Jasag Lama is the prime minister of the Panchhen Rinpoche and Lord Treasurer of Tsañ.

72. Called in Tibetan Dsimpon.

gold sañ, 50 of the very best satin robes, 9 tiger skins, 9 leopard skins 9 fox skins, 1000 white ermine skins, 1000 beaver skins, and 1000 lamb skins of the finest fur. The Jasag Lama and others also received suitable presents. The next day the Emperor went to return visits at the Panchhen's residence at Ye-hor Taši-lhunpo. From the 23rd of the month for two days they met each other twice or thrice daily and talked on various topics, each time exchanging presents. From the 25th for 12 days they spent their time in witnessing magical and illusive feats and performances, wonderful sights, horseracing, dances, operas and theatricals. During his residence at Ye-hor the Panchhen did not forget his religious duties. He initiated many thousands of monks, made offerings to all the temples and vihāra-s, and distributed alms to the congregation of monks. All these acts of piety and virtue raised him high in the Emperor's esteem.

One day the Emperor presented him with a seal of *yanti* (jade) and a diploma written on golden tablets. In his conversation the Emperor expressed great anxiety for the welfare of the Tibetans—"How is the Dalai progressing in his studies? What interest does he shew in hearing religious sermons? Does he possess intelligence and talents? Does he show parental love and affection for his subjects? What is his age? What are the religious accomplishments of the Panchhen himself?"—were some of the points of his enquiries, to all of which excellent answers were given by His Holiness. The Emperor, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, presented the Panchhen with the Imperial Diploma and seal, appointing him the sovereign of the whole of Tibet,⁷³ advising him to exert himself well to promote religion and the welfare of his subjects. The Panchhen then addressed the Emperor :

"O Heaven-elected sovereign, incarnate Mañju-ghcṣa!"⁷⁴

73. This does not rob the Dalai of his right, because the Panchhen and the Dalai bear the relation of spiritual son and father, *vice versa* when they differ in age, and of brothers when they are of equal age.

74. The Emperor of China is the incarnation of Mañju Śri or Mañju Ghoṣa, the Lord of learning and wisdom.

Thou who art like the parent of all moving beings inhabiting this earth and the illuminated firmament, especially of China, Tibet and Tartary (Hor), hast vouchsafed to show so much kindness to such a pettey Lama as my humble self. Wherefore we shall gratefully apply ourselves to praying to the Three Holies to prolong your Imperial Majesty's life and happiness. There is nothing more to convey to your Majesty than the expressions of our sincere thanks and assurance of serving your Majesty to the best of our power in all spiritual matters".

On the 28th lunar month they bid good-bye to Ye-hor. On the 1st of the 9th month the Panchhen arrived at the yellow shrine of the Imperial palace of Pekin where he took up his residence. The Emperor paid him a visit at the palace of Kema park. On the 10th he was invited to the Emperor's palace, where he spent three days. This time both he and the Emperor conversed in private, for 6 hours. Afterwards he visited all the palaces of the Emperor, conversed with the chiefs and nobles of Pekin, sent offerings to the 28 temples of the Emperor, and distributed alms and food to about 10,000 monks. The Emperor entertained him with several dinners and theatricals, and at times he heard his sermons. Even at Pekin His Holiness did not fail to administer the vows of priesthood to several thousand monks.

On the night of the 25th he felt a strong headache and irritating pains in his nose. In the morning he communicated his ailment to his servants. Next morning Sopon Chhenpo asked him how he felt during the night. Nothing very serious, replied the Lama. On the night of the 26th he did not take any food and said that he ailed very much. He also complained of colic and bilousness. All these symptoms of approaching danger alarmed the Sopon Chhenpo, who at once communicated his fears to his colleagues. The Chankya Rinpoche and some of the Emperor's physicians, came to feel his pulse. They declared that except some disorders and bodily agitations, they saw nothing so serious in his pulse as would tend to endanger his life. On the 27th his Holiness performed the service of Mahākāla for the Emperor's benefit.

Hearing of the illness of his Holiness from the Chāṇkyā Rinpoche, the Emperor requested him to take a few days' rest. The Panchhen himself also thought that a short cessation from labour might do him good. After a few days' rest, he seemed to recover. During this time he performed many pious acts, giving alms to 7,500 beggars, and ransoming 300,000 animal lives. His illness again returned. The Emperor, unmindful of ceremonies, privately attended him with two of his chief physicians, who administered medicines to him. After this, his spright to some extent increased, and his cheerfulness revived. He was always merry when in the company of Chāṇkyā Rinpoche and the Emperor's fifth son. Outwardly, there were no traces of indisposition, but it was apparent that his usual temper and appearance had undergone some change, and his friends and servants, when they saw that he could take no food at all, became very uneasy at heart. Once, Sopon Chhenpo, drawing up his sleeves, saw an eruption resembling small-pox on his arms. He at once showed it to the Jasag Lama.

Being informed of this, the Emperor immediately sent his best physicians to attend his Holiness. Examining the pulse, they found nothing ominous, but could not mistake the eruption as other than that of small-pox. They gave him some medicines, but to no effect. He soon succumbed. On the 1st of the 11th month, he sent for the two Indian Pañjis who had accompanied him in all his travels from Taši-lhunpo, one of whom happened to be absent, but the other, named Purnagir, came. Seeing Purnagir's face, his Holiness became cheerful, and his last words were addressed to Purnagir in the Ārya language. In the afternoon, sitting up in a cross-legged posture like Buddha Amitābha, he passed away from this world. A few minutes after, his person, still retaining its former brightness, contracted to the size of a boy. During this portentous interval there appeared many auspicious omens and sights. This melancholy event cast the whole of Pekin into mourning. The Emperor, overwhelmed with sorrow, did not come out of his chamber for many days. The Sopon

Chhenpo, Jasag Lama, Chaikya Rinpoche were the chief mourners. The Emperor preserved the crops in a coffin of gold and made offerings to it for 100 days. The Emperor and the government of Tsan distributed immense alms to the mendicants and the destitute for the benefit of the departed. Offerings were sent to all the monasteries and religious establishments of China, Amdo, Tibet and Hor for the increase of the moral merit of the deeply lamented Panchhen, which cost 32 millions of Rupees. The Emperor constructed a chhorten of gold at a cost of 42,000 Rupees or 7,000 gold san in which the coffin was placed. On the 12th of the 2nd month, in the following year he sent up this massive tomb to Taši-lhunpo, engaging 500 conveyors. The Chaikya Rinpoche and the 6th prince accompanied the remains as far as three days' journey. Great honours were paid to the remains of this deeply lamented and illustrious guest by all classes of men of the celestial Empire. The arrangements for the reception of the remains were equal to what were made for the Panchhen during his journey. At the command of the Emperor the Ampa and many of the generals accompanied the remains to Taši-lhunpo. Immense offerings were made to the coffin on the way. Headed by the Dalai Lama, all the Lamas of U and Tsan came to make obeisance to their late beloved spiritual guide and sovereign whose remains reached Taši-lhunpo on the 21st of the 6th month. All the earnings of the deceased were spent in pious services. About 200,000 silver san were expended in alms to the poor, and all the presents, made by the Emperor, together with those obtained from other sources, of the estimated value of 4,15,665 san were spent in erecting his tomb and in decorating and adorning it with precious stones and satin flags on which were woven such mystic phrases as *Ye-dharma-hetu*, &c. This was the greatest and noblest and perhaps the wiestest of the sovereign Lamas that ever appeared within the snow-girt realm of Tibet. Equally wise and noble was his friend the great Chhinlun, the Emperor of the celestials.

*Names of the important stages of Taši Paldan Yese
Lama's Journey from Taši-lhunpo to Pekin, 1779 A. D.*

TIBET

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|---|---|
| 1. Taši-soñ (a village). | 15. Na-thu-mo (one days journey west of Lhasa). |
| 2. Dorje-po (a village). | 16. Sha-bug. |
| 3. Lug-doñ-shika (a large village). | 17. Bas-tshañ-lha-chhui-kha (river). |
| 4. Tsan-tsan-nāga (a small lake). | 18. Kur-karmai-do. |
| 5. Shon-shon-doñ-kar-gañ (an insignificant village). | 19. Ne-u-thañ. |
| 6. Lha-bu-kar-teg. | 20. Dam-tod-taši-thañ (a large village). |
| 7. Ta bah-sum-do (the junction of three roads). | 21. Chhorten-gya-pa (there is a Chhorten near it). |
| 8. Dsom-thañ (plain). | 22. Bab-roñ (a small village). |
| 9. Lha-thañ-koñ (pasture plain). | 23. Na-tañ-mo. |
| 10. Ma-kyansum-do. | 24. Wyug-chhu-kha (river). |
| 11. Yañ-tuñ-sam-pa (bridge). | 25. Sa-pur-thu (swampy place). |
| 12. Sog-bu-lam-nag. | 26. Chhu-kar-mo (river). (This is the boundary between Tibet and Kham). |
| 13. Sog-bu-pa-lha. | 27. Nak-chhu-mani (a long Mendar near the village). |
| 14. Yañ-pa-chan, taši-thoñ-mon (River Yañ-pa-chan with a bridge). | |

KHAM

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| 28. Nak-chhupar-bu (a large town with a garrisoned fort and a monastery). | 33. Tag-kar-mo (steppe). |
| 29. Tha-tshai-la-deb. | 34. Ñug-lai-šam (a high mountain). |
| 30. Chhu-nak-gan (steppe). | 35. Lhun-dug-bug (steppe). |
| 31. Chyo-pho-de-rog (steppe) | 36. Dañ-la (a high mountain) |
| 32. Sag-thil (steppe). | 37. Tsha-chhu-kha (a hot spring). |

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| 38. Bal-va-lu-yul (steppes). | 57. Chhu-mar-kha (river). |
| 39. Aka-dam-chhu (an extensive swamp). | 58. Yak-go-la-teñ (a high mountain). |
| 40. Tag-kar-chhuñ-va (a rocky hill). | 59. Sau-sum-do (steppe). |
| 41. Tag-kar-chhe-va (a rocky peak). | 60. Lañ-ma-luñ (steppe). |
| 42. To-lonpa-thur (a cluster of seven mountains). | 61. Pa-yan-ha-raila-śam (a high mountain). |
| 43. Kyañ-chhui-nub (river). | 62. La-tengal-na-śam (on the back of this mountain). |
| 44. Me-dothañ (a plain filled with fints). | 63. La-matho-lo-ga (a small hill called Lama's Skull). |
| 45. San-khupun-gyisar No-kyithañ. | 64. Zema-thañ (thorny plain) |
| 46. Tuñ dugda (steppe). | 65. Khu-khu Ama (steppe). |
| 47. Tuñ-thog (steppe). | 66. Tshokya-riñ (a lake about 5 miles in length and a mile in breadth). |
| 48. Na-mo-chhe (steppe). | 67. Ma-chya (steppe). |
| 49. Hor-chhendul-go (steppe) | 68. Tsho-soma (small lake). |
| 50. Tha-tshañsum-do (steppe). | 69. Bo hase-be-su (steppe). |
| 51. Di-chhu (a great river larger than the Tsanpo near Taši-lhunpo). | 70. The-men-khu-tsu (steppe) |
| 52. Di-go-lailho-sam. | 71. Dam-kar (steppe). |
| 53. Di-goi-laichyañ-sam. | 72. Ma-chhenbom-raikan-ri-thoñ (snow mountains). |
| 54. Di-chhuilho-dam. | 73. Turinur-gyi-lhoharase (lake). |
| 55. Na-mo-chhe (steppe). | 74. Arig-chhu-tshen (a hot spring). |
| 56. Lab-tse-kar-chhuñ (obo). | |

UPPER MONGOLIA, KHOKHONUR

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| 75. So-ro-la (low mountain range). | 78. Sa-la-thu (nomad village) |
| 76. Ur-ge-ta-tshañ (a camp monastery). | 79. Alonbu-lag (contains many fountains). |
| 77. Chhu-migme-loñ (streamlet). | 80. Ta-tshañtaši-gadanpal-jor-liñ (monastery located in stone building). |

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| 81. He-tho-lai (inner side of a mountain). | 86. Tsha-gantho-lo-keh (a hill). |
| 82. Tsho Non-po (lake Khokhonour). | 87. Ni Dai La (the mountains of Sun and Moon). |
| 83. Kuñ-khu-re (nomad village). | 88. Toñ-khorgon-pa (monastery presided over by a Khutug-tu and containing 300 monks). |
| 84. Ho-yor-tho-lo-keh (two peaks). | |
| 85. Khu-khulo-keh (a hill). | |

AMDO

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| 89. Hal-jin-ta-pa. | 92. Te-marthañ (a fertile plain). |
| 90. Ton-khorkhar (a fort and a town). | 93. Ku-bum or vulgarly Kum-bum (a large town). |
| 91. Go-kyakhar (a fort and small town). | |

CHINA

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| 94. Siliñ (fortress and town containing 300,000 men). | 102. S'o-lañ-tsi (small town). |
| 95. Shi-yañ Phan-yi (a Chinese town). | 103. Thoñ-cho-yi (small town). |
| 96. Phin-tuñ-yi (a town). | 104. Toñ-lañ (of <i>khar</i> fort and large town containing 60,000 men). |
| 97. Kau-ten-tsi (a small town). | 105. Phiñ-chhiñ-phu (a village). |
| 98. Ñen-pi (<i>khar</i> or fort and town with a population of 30,000). | 106. Ssun-sañ (a town containing 20,000). |
| 99. La-pa-chhiñ (a small town with about 10,000). | 107. Khwañ-ko (village). |
| 100. Piñ-ku-san (small town). | 108. Sa-yan-jañ (military outpost). |
| 101. Ho-khyo-u-yi (town). | 109. Tun-tsi (a village). |

**ALAKSHA, LOWER MONGOLIA, IN THE SENSE
THAT THE MONGOLIAN PLATEAUX SLOPE
DOWN TOWARDS THE NORTH.**

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| 110. Yin-phiñ-shu (a village). | 126. Su-ji (pasture land). |
| 111. Me-khe-to-lon (nomad town). | 127. On-lontho-lo-ka (a hilly place). |
| 112. A-le-su-i-hu-tag (sand-banks and loam piles). | 128. Parotho-lo-ka (contains many hillocks). |
| 113. Ye-khe-thuñ-keh (small nomad village). | 129. Mi-lan (a pasture land). |
| 114. Hu-lan or Khu-lan (nomad village). | 130. Ha-rakopi (a small desert-like plain). |
| 115. Ho-yor Hu-tag (there are two wells here). | 131. Ool-chithu-su-mi (a monastery). |
| 116. Au-lon Hu-tag (contains many wells). | 132. Chha-ganili-keh (a pasture hill). |
| 117. Thu-Myur Hala-ka (small nomad village). | 133. Chha-ganchhu-lo-thu (a plain filled with white stones). |
| 118. Pin-chhin-phu (a small Chinese fort.) | 134. Mo-tonpu-lag (a fountain with trees). |
| 119. Niñ-sa (<i>khar</i> or fort : a large fortress under a Mogul Prince, son-in-law of the Emperor, contains 50,000 men). | 135. Por-su Ha (a desert-like plain). |
| 120. Ma-chhu(river Hoangho). | 136. Chha-ganso-porka (a <i>chorten</i> built of white stone). |
| 121. Khin-chhiñ-ko-wu (small nomad village). | 137. Mur-ga-tshug (a mountain of low altitude). |
| 122. Tha-puñ-au-po (contains 5 "obos"). | 138. Cher-keh-i-gol (river). |
| 123. Oon khul-tshig (nomad village). | 139. Pa-ga-na-rin Er-ge (a large landslip). |
| 124. Tho-thu-lu (pasture land). | 140. Ho-thon-gol (a large river). |
| 125. Tho-so-thu' Am (small nomad village). | 141. Ha-ṭañ Ho-shu (a rocky hill). |
| | 142. Je Kehsu-thu-su-me (monastery). |

143. Tan-gye-lin (monastery, 100 monks).
144. Thub tan ge-phel-lin (monastery, 200 monks).
145. Taši Mi-gyur-lin (monastery, 150 monks).
146. Mu-tai-to-kon (a tent monastery).
147. Pa-ri-chhi (a nomad town).
148. Ta-ra (a nomad town).
149. Dor-je (a nomad town).
150. Wan-pai-san (a high mountain).
151. Pa-ga-pi chhai chhi (pasture-land).
152. Pelo-ha (pasture-land).
153. Tho ga-mod (a nomad town).
154. Ge-gan-ni-pee-sin (a large monastery).
155. Khu-khe-ho-thu (a large fortress, 30,000 soldiers and a population of 60,000).
156. Khar Non-po.
157. Chha-gan (a white stone *chorten* and small monastery).
158. So-ber-ga (ditto).
159. Mai-tri (a small monastery).
160. Chha-gankhu-khu-re (inhabited village with a few nomads).
161. Tsa-hapo-lag (contains a fountain).
162. Pum-pa-thu (pasture-land.)
163. O-su-thu (pasture-land).
164. Tai Kai (gon-pa monastery : 200 monks).
165. Tel-der-pu-lag (contains a well).
166. Pa-yon-bu-lag (contains a well).
167. Thal-bu-lag (contains a well in the middle of the plain).
168. Jun-na-rin O-sun (contains a streamlet).
169. Chha-ganer-ge (a landslip).
170. Ta-lanthu-ru (filled with a kind of shrub from which Chinese paper is made).
171. Kun-joi-gom (nomad village).
172. Ha-ya-tu-wai-suma (a large monastery containing 500 monks).
173. Jib-ha-lan-thu (a range of hills).
174. Er-teni-ṭog-shin-o-pa (contains "obo").
175. Paga-hwa-char (contains a mine of soda).
176. Khu-khu-dere-su (covered with long grass).
177. Tagi (a nomad town).
178. Thoñ-jug (a nomad town).
179. Nar-thu-su-me (a small monastery).

180. Gun-Nvura (a small lake).
 181. Sil-ge-khu (a nomad village).
 182. Shan-ṭui-gol (a small river).
 183. Chha-gan-lag (contains a well).
 184. Tsho-dun (contains a large Lamasary with 3,000 monks, a place of commerce with 2,000 people).
 185. To-lon-nor (Dolonor).
 186. A-la-than-ṭu-shi (a nomad town).
 187. Po-ra-un-der (contains pasture hills).
 188. Chog-ṭo (a valley with pasture).
 189. Yañ-su (a small stream).
 190. Nol-chhin (a nomad village).
 191. Sai-han-ṭa-pa (a high mountain which cannot be crossed in one day,— a shelter for robbers).
 192. Sai-han O pa (contains "obo").
 193. Chha-gan-ho-ro (boulder-plains and undulated valleys).
 194. San-ta-pa (a low hill).
 195. Thai-ji (low hill).
 196. Ker-chhi-lan-ama (a saddle between two mountains).
 197. Kur-gun-hara (a rocky valley).
 198. Mu-ran ta-pa (a high mountain).
 199. Theme-ha-ṭa (contains a huge rock).
 200. Lei-pa-sumi (contains a small monastery).

CHINA

201. Ko-ko-ge-ther (Chinese town).
 202. Shiñ-kun (contains a Mogul and Chinese population).
 203. Ye-hor (pho-dañ or palace) (Jehor or Jehole).
 204. Wañ-su-then (a large town)..
 205. Kwan-yin-liñ (a Chinese town).
 206. Hara-hotho (contains a fort and town).
 207. Hun si-liñ (a large town).
 208. Wañ-kya-yin-tse (a large city).
 209. Khyan-sa-yu (a large town).
 210. Hwañ-tho-liñ (a large town).
 211. Si-liñ (a large town).
 212. Men-chan-hañ (a town).
 213. Pañ-si-yin (a large town).

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| 214. Nan-thas-men (a large town). | 220. Nai-si-so (a small town). |
| 215. Yo-thiñ-tse (a large town). | 221. Lañ-kwa-su (a town). |
| 216. Lo-chi-chho-ko (contains a stone-bridge). | 222. Chhiñ (a small town). |
| 217. Ta-mel (a small town). | 223. Ba-ba-phu (ditto). |
| 218. Yun-śan (ditto). | 224. Pekin (Imperial Palace and Capital). |
| 219. Kho-yu-śan (a large town). | 225. Ree-chyar Hwañ-si (contains Dalai Lama's monastery). |

LIFE AND LEGEND OF TSON-KHAPA (LO-SSAN-TAGPA), THE GREAT BUDDHIST REFORMER OF TIBET.

Tson khapa was born in 1378, A.D.¹ in the town of Tson-kha (or Onion valley) in Amdo in Eastern Tibet. His father's name was Lubum-ge, and that of his mother Shiñ-saḥ-a-chho. The house in which he was born was overhung by a sandal-wood tree rich in foliage. It is said to have borne a hundred thousand leaves, on every one of which was visible the naturally grown picture of Tathāgata Señge-ña-vo (Simhadhvani). There having spontaneously appeared on the bark of that wonderful tree the mantra-s sacred to Mañjuśrī, the protector of the three classes of beings, viz., man, sura-s and asura-s, the men of the place erected a chaitya at its foot. A large monastery containing 10,000 monks was established near it and called the monastery of Kubum Chambaliñ. It is said that marvellous leaves of the selfsame sandal tree are even at the present day observed by pilgrims to bear the Tathāgata's image inscribed, as it were, by nature.

When three years old, Tson-khapa received the first initiatory sacrament from the celebrated Karmapa Lama Rolpai-dorje, who gave him the name Kun-gah-ñiñpo. At the age of seven the young novice is said to have been miraculously visited by Vajrapāṇi and the Indian saint Dipaṅkara Śri-jñāna (called Alīśa in Tibet), from whose hands he received benediction. Having attained his eighth year, he received the second sacrament of novices from the sage Ton-dub Rinchhen who changed his name to Lo-ssañ-tagpa or Sumatikīrti in Sanskrit. From the same Lama he received instruction in the Sūtra-s and Tantrā-s. His study-room is said to have been filled with sacred volumes, the lustre of which served him for light. At the age of sixteen he visited Tibet proper, where in the principal monasteries of U and

1. On the 10th lunar month of the year, bearing the name "fire-bird", of the 6th cycle in Tibetan chronology.

Tsañ, such as Dawa-chan &c., he studied the sacred literature of the Buddhists under such eminent scholars as Lama Wumapa, Je-tsun Reñ-dah-va, the hermit of Lho-brag named Lakyi-dorje, Taśi-senge &c.. At the age of twenty he took the monastic vows from Tshul-thim Rinchhen, when he manifested a very powerful memory. He was able to recite at a time about 553 *sloka*-s of the Dulva without a mistake. He was afterwards initiated into the vows of Bodhisattva and others of the strictest kind appertaining to the Tantra-s. He now acquired the right to confer benediction on others. He also propitiated the divine mother Tārā called Dolma in Tibet, Dugkar-samāja Guhya, Sambara, Bhairava and others of his tutelary dieties. The great Indian teacher, Nāgārjuna, Śrī Saraha and the all-knowing Buton, besides many other Indian and Tibetan Buddhists miraculously visited him at the time of his studying their metaphysical works. Of all these divine visitors Mañjuśrī, the god of learning and wisdom, was his greatest friend. In fact he acquired great proficiency in all classes of science then known in India or Tibet. In the whole of Kañchan or the Himavat country, he was unrivalled amongst the learned. Gonpo-chhag-dug or the six-armed Bodhisattva (Vajrapāṇi), Pehar Gyalpo, Vaiśramana, the lord of death called Tam-chhen Śinjeśe and other guardians of the world became his friends and helped him uninterruptedly in the work of Dharma and the preservation of moral discipline and purity among the clergy.

Even from his boyhood Tson-khapa used daily to commit sixteen pages of his text-books to memory. In Tibet he studied up to the thirty-sixth year of his age, when he mastered the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures and the śāstra-s, the greater and smaller vehicles of law, the ancient and modern versions of Buddha's precepts, and the philosophies of the various heretical and Buddhist schools. By these accomplishments he became matchless in learning in Tibet. After finishing his studies he devoted himself to writing various commentaries and works, such as aphorisms, Lam-rim, Tantra-s, Vinaya, Pāramitā-s and logic. At the

time of his commenting on the Tantrik work called *Sambara-mūla-tantra*, the god Sambara is said to have miraculously appeared before him and remarked—"Tson-khapa! even in India such excellent commentaries and synopses as yours were never made". At the time of his commenting on the "Kālacakra", its reputed author, the celebrated Candra Kirti, Emperor of Śambhala, is said to have inspired him. The Yeśhe-khadoma (the fairies of learning) are said to have miraculously transported him to Śambhala before the presence of that deified emperor.

At the age of thirty-seven he bethought himself of paying a visit to India and invoked Mañjuśrī to advise him on the matter. Mañjuśrī personally appeared before him and said, "If by remaining in Tibet, through the medium of yoga, you invoke the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, great good will accrue to living beings. If, for that particular purpose which can as well be attained by residence in Tibet, you visit India, your life will be shortened, consequently you will ultimately do less good to the world. I therefore exhort you to follow Nāgārjuna and Candra Kirti in doctrinal theories, and Atīsa in meditative science, and Upāli in ritual and religious observances. Oh saintly Tson-khapa : let your school be diffused over the whole of Jambudvipa and let mankind abide by its teaching!" On hearing this, Tson-khapa gave up the idea of visiting India. After thirteen years of meditation (yoga in solitude) he obtained samādhi, after which he saw several of his tutelary deities. Even the fairies of learning came in visible form to pay their respects.

He acquired great proficiency in argumentative philosophy and vyākaraṇa. Once, in the course of twenty days, he finished reading 100 volumes of Sūtra-s and Tantra-s, and in thirty days he unravelled the intricacies of those books. His acquirements in the Alaṅkāra Vidyā (rhetoric) and in Upadeśa were considerable, for he was found capable of explaining three volumes of such works daily. He was possessed of rare gifts of elocution. In fact, being an inspired orator, in the midst of a crowded assembly consisting of several thousand

men, he could make himself heard to the satisfaction of all. His delivery is said to have been uniform and engaging, being without variation in the pitch of his voice. Being free from any kind of disease either of mind or body, he preached with untiring zeal in the daytime and during the night time. He used to sit in yoga in communion with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. "Such rare talents and assiduity," remarks a Tibetan author², "have never been noticed in any of the Tibetan Lamas of ancient or modern times". The works composed by Tson Khapa are replete with sense and profound reasoning. Excellence of style, perspicuity and conciseness are their never-failing attributes. Few authors can boast of such excellencies as embellish his extraordinary writings. They are scrupulously free from errors and blunders of any kind. Arrangement and judicious order are no unimportant characteristics of his writings. His works are faultless in the qualities called aṅga, pratyāṅga and mūla, in consequence of which they are easy and intelligible to the general reader. In Grammar and Dialectics his reputation stands unrivalled in High Asia. He held long discussions with the learned philosophers of Tibet and Amdo. The well-known Dharma Rinchhen and Ge-leg-pal-saṇ were forced to acknowledge his superiority. He discussed the merits of the Prasāṅga Mādhyamika school with the celebrated Tag-tshaṇ Lochhāva and Šerab Rin-chhen, whom he vanquished by his powerful logic and obliged to compose 80 śloka-s or verses in his praise. From that date his fame spread all over the country. The pride of rival savants was humbled when they came in contact with him, and they prostrated themselves before him in reverence and awe. These were the causes which led to the wide diffusion of his reforms. Prior to his advent, Buddhism, though widely spread in Tibet, had greatly degenerated through having assimilated much of the Bon heresy, and especially on

2. rGyal-dvāñ-mkhanpo, the late abbot of the Sera monastery who wrote a voluminous life of Tson Khapa.

account of the clergy having shewn some disregard for moral discipline and the teaching of Buddha. Every one behaved as he pleased under the shelter of its corrupt doctrines, and practised diabolical acts in the name of the Tantra-s. There were few among the Tibetan clergy who abstained from women and wine. It was Tsöñ Khapa who preached strict observance of the laws of the Dulva (vinaya or moral discipline), and by thus conforming to the precepts of Buddha, he revived the purest kind of Buddhism. Tsöñ Khapa introduced reforms in every direction. In his reformed school was to be found the essence of the Sūtra-s, Tantra-s and Dhāraṇī-s of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools. One who is well-versed practically in the Vinaya teaching of the Hinayāna school, and who acquires the Mahayāna or Bodhisattva-dhāraṇī, can become a good Gelugpa.

After Śākyā Śimha, no teacher of Buddhism was so eminent as Tsöñ Khapa. Even in the Ārya-desa, no such refined school as that of Gelugpa was known to exist. In Tibet, Tsöñ Khapa is called the second Buddha, a title which Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika philosophy, enjoyed in ancient India.

At the age of fifty-three, in the year 1429 A.D., he founded the great prayer assembly consisting of 70,000 monks well-known by the name of the Monlam Chhenpo of Lhasa. It was held annually, and the practice continues up to the present day. Tsöñ Khapa on that occasion adorned the head of the image of Jobo (lord) Śākyā Muṇi with a diadem of lapislazuili, pearls, rubies and other precious stone, at a cost of 500 gold sraṇ (or Rs. 30,000), and prayed that the sacred religion might continue for ever without being corrupted or degraded. Immense offerings were made. A hundred thousand edibles were placed in heaps to the height of a men's stature. A hundred thousand lamps, fed with butter in huge cauldrons, with wicks as big as the largest handkerchiefs rolled up, were lighted, so that the whole city of Lhasa was illuminated. The glare was so great that the residents of Lhasa could hardly distinguish the stars in the sky.

Frankincense, joss-sticks, myrrh, and flowers were offered in great profusion. There were present on the occasion under human guise, all the gods and deinigods, Nāgas and Yakshas that friendly to Buddhism, together with the four classes of genii called Gyalpo with the great Pehar at their head. All these, disguised in human shape, took part in the proceedings. Tsoñ Khapa observed similar ceremonies in subsequent years. In the same year, the great reformer founded the famous monastery of Gañdan. In the course of the next ten years, he turned the wheel of Dharma with unprecedented zeal.

In the sixty-third year of his age, knowing that his end was drawing nigh, he entrusted his principal disciples Gyal-chhab-je, Kha-dub Chho-je, Je-śe-ab-senje, Jam-vyan Chho-je and Chyam-chhen-chho-je, with the charge of protecting Buddhism. He also charged the lord of death, called Tam-chhen-śinje-choikyi Gyalpo, with the defence of the sacred creed, thus exhorting him :— “O thou, the lord of Dharma, in this country of Kañ-chan (Himavat), may thy religion so long as animal life remains unextinct, be defended by thee ! Thou, together with thy retinue, shalt drive away all enemies, whether internal or external, and the warlike foes of the border lands; thou shalt extinguish all kinds of heretics, who may try to injure the religion”. The statue of this dreadful lord of death, who is the sworn guardian of Gañdan, inspires terror in the minds of sinners who, even to the present day, tremble at his name. It was, according to the popular belief, by the might of this dreaded deity that the progress of the Gurkha armies beyond the boundary of Tsai was arrested. On the 25th day of the 10th lunar month of the same year, Tsoñ Khapa’s person having been contracted to the size of a boy of eight, and placed in a mansion encompassed by the radiance of the rainbow, prepared to start for the land of bliss. On the occasion innumerable Suras, Asura, fairies, gods and goddesses played instruments of music in his honour, showered flowers, and with flags and umbrellas joined in a pious dance for full seven days. On the morning of the seventh day, when by the act of his will he was lost in yoga, his soul,

leaving its mortal frame, was absorbed in the Sambhogakāya of Buddhahood. Thence forward Tsoṇ Khapa, under the name of Jampal Niṇpo, sits by the side of Maitreya, the Regent of Tuṣita (Gahdan). His remains, wrapped in cloths inscribed with texts from the Dhāraṇī-s,³ were preserved in a Chaitya of gold. His tomb is a lofty edifice, with a gilt roof; and a golden Chaitya inside.

The Tibetans have the following account of Buddha's prediction respecting Tsoṇ Khapa :—

In ancient times, when Bhagavān Śākyā lived, a Brāhmaṇa boy prayed to him after presenting him with a crystal rosary. Bhagavān, in return, drew from his right side a white conch shell and gave it to him, saying, "Oh Brāhmaṇa boy, in time to come thou shalt work for my religion; when it shall spread in the Himavat country, thou shalt be the president of the Dharma." The same conch shell was then concealed in the hill called Brogri, in Tibet. It is now to be found in the Dapuṇi monastery and is said to be possessed of miraculous powers.

3. The mystical writings, called Dhāraṇī-s, were brought from India during the Śākyā hierarchy in the 10th and 11th century A. D. The inscriptions were prepared in Tibet.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA (HOR).

11th Book of *Dub thah-selkyi-melon*.

TRANSLATION

The three wheels of the Buddhist doctrine spread over various countries, large and small, such as Kashmir, Nepal, Persia, Champaka, Kiśkindā, Sermig, Gyugma, Ramma, Siam, Singala, Priyāñku, Yamunā, Chandra Dvipa, Makha, Kaśa, Gyi-jañ. Shañ-shuñ, Brusha, Hašha, Sumpa, Sahor Miñug or Burmah, Jañ-yul, Yugur, Thogar, Orgyan, Dodipa, Lôdpa, Chola, Kaliñka, &c., &c. Various accounts are given of the rise and decline of the sacred creed in these countries in converting all living beings universally and partially, according as Karma permitted. In those countries many heretical doctrines also existed, which will not all be described here. It will be enough to describe the propagation of Buddhism in Sog-yul (Mongolia).

There is no account of the introduction of Buddhism in Hor by any Pandits or saints from India. The first light of Buddhism came from Tibet—and that from the Sakyapa school. Chhingis Khan who turned the wheel of might (became a mighty conqueror) visited Tibet. After subjugating Nari-kor-sum., U and Tsan, Lho, Kham and Gañ, he sent an envoy to Tsan, offering large presents to the learned Kun-gah-ñiñpo, the hierarch of Sakya, and appointed him his spiritual guide, and subsequently invited him to visit Hor. He obtained from Tibet some images, sacred volumes and Chaityas, from which the Mongols imbibed faith in Buddhism and commenced to adore Kon-chhog or the Supreme Being. During this time some Mongols also took the vows of Upāsaka &c., whence they got hold of Dharma. This took place in the Fire-Hare year of the 4th cycle or 2041 of the Buddhist era, if Buddha's Nirvāña were calculated from the year of the same name; but if it be calculated from the Iron-Dragon year, the

introduction of Buddhism in Hor must be placed in 2097 B. E. From the Fire-Hare year to the Iron-Dragon year of the 10th cycle 503 years elapsed. During the reigns of Goyug and Gutan, the two grandsons of Chhingis Khan, Buddhism was formally introduced into Hor. Gutan whose capital was in Lañ-du, hearing the fame of Sakya Pañdita, sent an envoy to Tibet with rich presents to invite him to visit Hor.

Sakya Pañdita had been previously told by his tutor Sonam-tse-mo about a prediction, that he should be invited to propagate Dharma by a border race who wore hats like falcons and shoes like a hog's snout. The prophecy being now realized, Sakya Pañdita accepted the invitation. Accompanied by his nephew Phag-pa and Chhyagna, he set out for Hor and met the king in the year Fire-Sheep of the 4th cycle (this date corresponds with A.D. 1248). The king was laid up with a disease called *sadag* (leprosy), of which Sakya Pañdita cured him by the mystical invocation of the Simhanāda-dhāraṇī. The king and his ministers heard from him the mystical worship of Gye-va-dorje.

He secured to himself their sincere faith by performing various miracles. Prior to this period the Mongolians possessed no written language. Sakya Pandita became desirous of designing a new alphabet for them. Once he observed a certain women rubbing (softening) a piece of hide with a piece of timber of the shape of the teeth of a saw. He shaped the Mongolian characters after the teeth of that implement. By arranging the letters, divided in masculine and feminine characters, with hard or tight, loose or slack, and weak or soft powers he invented the system of writing of the Mongols. In the year Iron-Hog (corresponding with A.D. 1252) both Sakya Pandita and the king died. The remains of the former were deposited in the Chhorten of Dulpai-de outside the fortress of Lanju. Subsequently in the reign of Muñkhe, Karma Bakshi and others from Tibet visited Hor. Muñkhe's younger brother named Khublai became very powerful. He conquered China, Tibet, the whole of Hor, and about half of India up to the furthest boundary of Kashmir. He invited

Phagpa-Lodoi-Gyatshan,¹ the nephew of Sakya Pañdita, from Tibet. On his coming to Hor in the year Water-Ox, the Emperor met and held long discussions on religious matters with him, and imbibed much faith in him. Previous to this, he had showed much attachment to Karma Bakshi. Although Phagpa's acquirements in grammar and sacred literature were great, on the other hand the acquirements of the bearded Lama, as Karma Bakshi was called, in judicious learning were eminent. Once under the secret advice of the Emperor, the Empress, named Jema-ssāñmo, who revered Phagpa above all, asked him to enter into competition with Karma Bakshi in the performance of miracles. This was done with a view to amuse the Emperor. The parties having agreed to the proposal, the Bakshi, in the presence of the Emperor and his ministers, mounted the sky where he sat cross-legged, as in yoga, and passed right through mountains, &c. Phagpa also performed miracles by decapitating himself, then severing the five limbs and turning them into five Dhyāni Buddhas. He afterwards accomplished their re-union to restore to himself his own body.

Within the fortress of Lañju (or Landu) there is a tomb called the Chhorten of Karma Lisi which is identified with the tomb of Karma Bakshi, Karma Lisi being a mere corruption of the name Karma Bakshi. In the face of this account the *Debther Nonpo* and other works say that Karma returned to Tibet where he died.

Previous to the Emperor's taking spiritual vows, the Empress observed the mystic ceremonies of Kaidorje. He inquired what kind of vows were to be taken. When the Empress uttered the words of the vow, he remarked, "Although I might take some of the vows, yet being a sovereign, I cannot say that I will not violate the words of my spiritual guide". The Empress removed the objection by observing, that in worldly matters the Emperor's authority should be supreme, whereas in spiritual affairs the Lama's command should be paramount. The Emperor, satisfied with the

1. Ārya Mati Dvaja.

suggestion, observed 24 ceremonies, called Thub-pai Khor, together with the invocation of Gyeva-dorje. On the occasion of initiation, Khublai presented the Lama with too large mandala-s (circular heaps of precious things) of which the one on the right-hand side was full of pearl balls without pinholes and as big as sheep's droppings, placed in bundles; the other on the left consisted of heaps of gold. Besides these, immense presents consisting of horses, mules, camels, silk robes, silver and gold, &c., were made to him. He decorated him with an exalted order which in Chinese is called "Śiñśiñ takausri", meaning the spiritual king of the three worlds, and conferred on him the city and country of Lishim and subsequently the entire sovereignty of Tibet and Tsholkha (Khokonur). Although the Emperor ordered that all the Bande of Tibet should adopt the Sakyapa theories, yet the most estimable Phagpa, thinking it fair to let them pursue their anciently adopted doctrines, showed toleration. He returned to Tibet in the year Tree-Ox and in the year Earth-Serpent of the 5th cycle revisited Hor. In the year Iron-Horse he framed the square shaped form of the Mongolian characters, and introducing the system of worship, meditation, and propitiation among the Mongols, furthered the cause of Dharma and living beings. The Emperor having obtained the sacred relics of Buddha, images and sacred books and chaityas from India, erected temples and monasteries by which Buddhism was greatly promoted. The square shaped characters, called Khorig, having failed to answer the purpose of translating the sacred books, the Mongolians made use of the Yugur character in writing their language as a medium for the expression of the sacred hymns. During the reign of king Olje, the Sakyapa Lama named Chhoikyi-hodsser came to Mongolia and perfected the saw-teeth shaped characters invented by Sakya Pañdita by adding tails to the letters. The Mongolian characters were thus fit to be used in writing translations from foreign languages. Subsequently in the reign of Hai-san-khulug portions of the Kah-gyur and grammar were translated into the Mongolian language. In the reign of Poyanthu, Jam-yan the pupil of

Rigral the Prefect of Narthañ, who during his visit to Narthañ had incurred the displeasure of his Lama by appearing before him in a mask, paid a visit to Hor. Subsequently Jam-yañ pleased his master by sending him large presents for a copy of the Kahgyur collection. Among the presents there was a small box full of Chinese ink which delighted Rigral very much. On his return to Narthañ, Jam-yañ resided in the house where the Kahgyur was copied and which was called Jam-yañ Lhakhañ.

In this manner, the way being opened, the copies of the Kahgyur gradually increased. After Jam-yañ, Karma Rañ-jun Dorje visited Hor and became the spiritual guide of one of the Hor kings, who, it appears was named Chiya-thu. Thougan-themur (the last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty), the well-known descendant of Chhingis Khan, invited Karma Rolpai-dorje who accordingly in the 19th year of his age in the year Earth-Dog came to Hor. During the fourteen reigns from Chhingis Khan to Erteni Chhogthu, many Sakyapa and Karmapa Lamas visited Hor, some of whom received the honour of the order of Ti-sri. The introduction of the Gelugpa church in the spiritual relation of Mongolia commenced at this time. During the reign of Thumer-kyi Althan Khan, the third Gyal-van (Dalai) named Sonam Gyatsho visited Hor and abolished the worship of On-gvad (the chief Demon) and the practice of offering animal sacrifices to demons. He introduced the Gelugpa (Yellow-hat) school of Buddhism in Hor where he died, and his incarnation named Gyal-van Yonton Gya-tsho appeared in Mongolia, for which reason Buddhism became greatly diffused over that country, and all the Mongols were converted to the Gelugpa church. Afterwards Shere-thu-gusri translated the three Yum (vulgarly called *bum*) into the native Mongolian language. In the days of Chhahar-leg-dan Khuthog-thu several translators headed by Kungah Hodsser translated the whole of the Kahgyur into Mongolian. The last of the descendants of Chhingis Khan

named Santhu-gusi (called Legdar in Tibetan), a petty prince, was so degenerate that he failed even to rule over his own country and his dynasty passed off from power. In the reign of Sunchi (De-kyi) the translation of the Kahgyur in Mongolian was revised and partially printed. It was in the reign of the Emperor Chhinluñ (Kyen-long), the incarnate Mañjuśrī, that the entire Kahgyur and Tangyur were for the first time printed in the Mongolian language. Then also the all-knowing Chaṇkyā Rolpai Dorje prepared the *Khapai-junne*, a compendious grammar of the Mongolian language, which was indispensably necessary to facilitate translations (lit, which served as an eye to the future translators). Asuthu, king of Khalkha, had met the Gyal-van (Dalai Lama) Sonam-gya-tsho during his sojourn in Mongolia and erected the temple of Erteni Jovo. At that time the incarnation of Tāranātha (Je-tsun-dampa) named Lo-ssañ-tanpi-gya-tsho in the person of the son of his grandson Dorje Thushi-ye-thu Khan, was acknowledged as the supreme head of the seven Khalkha Khanates. The Emperor of China greatly exalted his position by offering on him high distinctions. The great monastery of Urga called Rivo-ge-gye-liñ was founded, and from that time the incarnations of Tāranātha successively appeared. Jaya Pañdita Lo-ssañ-thin-leg, who was the pupil of the fifth Gyal-van and Panchhen Lo-ssañ Chho-gyan, and Erteni Pañdita Lo-ssañ-tan-disn founded many monasteries and promoted the spread of Buddhism in Hor. From this period the land of Khalkha became filled with priestly congregations, sages and saints of immaculate birth, and sacred study and saintly communion were greatly diffused. The Prefect of the Gomāñ College of Dapuñ, named Ton-dub Gya-tsho, who was famed to have attained the 2nd stage of Bodhisattva perfection, introduced Buddhism into the Thorgwod country, the progress of which was, however, impeded by the surrender of the country to the Russians (Orrus). Subsequently, when the country was brought under the Emperor of China, the chiefs were re-instated in their respective states and the practice of the precious religion revived. Hashag chhe-chhu

Khan, the reigning chief of the four great tribes of Oe-loth, also calle Orod, was defeated and dethroned by Boshog-thu Khan of the tribe of Tshoru who had grown powerful, in consequence of with the whole of the Oe-loth kingdom came under his possession. He established many schools for the instruction of monks in the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s (aphorisms and mysticism). Thereafter Erteni Jorign-thu-skhu-tho-che Tshe-vāñrabtan encouraged Buddhism in general and especially the Gelugpa church. He by turns invited the Mahāmantri of Taśi-lhunpo named Geleg-rabgya, and Paljor-gya-tshog, and latterly by inviting Tampa-rabgya of Washul from the Dapuṇ monastery and many others, introduced domestic priesthood and service (like that of the Upāsaka-s) among the Mongols. He founded the monasteries of Nam-tse-din and the system of imparting instruction to neophyte monks, and established moral discipline and training. Although he failed to establish schools for the study of dialectics, yet by teaching the higher and lower (simpler) Lamrim of Tsōn Khapa, he introduced the secret way to Bodhisatta (perfection). Like the celebrated Ralpachan, sovereign of Tibet, he allotted three families of tenants, 6 camels, 40 cows and horses and 200 sheep &c., for the maintenance of every monk or neophyte. After him his son Gaḥdan-tsherin Waṇpo invited the celebrated professor and sage Paldan-yeše, the learned principal of Thosam-liṇ of Taśi-lhunpo, the Vinayic ascetic Lo-ssan Phun-tsho from Dapuṇ, who held the office of the Prefect of the Gomān College, and Ge-dun-leg-pa the Prefect of the Sera monastery, of whom the last succeeded in opening classes for the study of metaphysics and dialectics. He erected many monasteries and filled them with images, sacred volumes, and chaityas by which he filled the Chungar country. By conferring distinction and endowments on the scholars of philosophy he greatly diffused Buddhism.

Afterwards when the kingdom was overthrown by inter-necine wars, all the religious edifices were demolished, the effect of which even now survives in the desolate aspect of the country like the fields of autumn (after harvest). From one

of the four famous tribes of Orod, the celebrated king, the upholder of religions, called Guśri Khan, son of the Khan of the Hoshad, was born in the year Water-Horse. His name was Thorol-ba-dur. According to the prophecy of Ti-me Lhun-dub, the obtainer of sacred treasure, he is said to have been the miraculous emanation of Chhyagna Dorje (Vajrapāṇi), and according to the revelation of the Kahgyur, he was a religious king who obtained one of the Bodhisatīva perfections. At the age of thirteen he assumed the command of the army of the Gokar (white heads), numbering 10,000, and went on an expedition against Hoi-Hoi (Tangyut). He gained a complete victory in the fight, for which he became eminently famous. During this time Buddhism was not spread in the Oeloth country. In other Mongolian countries the Gyal-vāñ (Dalai Lama) Sonam-gye-tsho, at the invitation of Althan Khan, had visited Khalkha. By reason of their spiritual relation Buddhism flourished there. Guśri-khan, on only hearing its name, imbibed faith and veneration for Buddha. He made many salutations by repeated prostrations towards that sacred country (Tibet), thereby hurting his forehead. When he was twenty-five years old, his mother died. In order to celebrate her funeral and for her salvation, he distributed a large quantity of gold and silver as alms to the poor. On a certain occasion there arose a dispute between the Orod and Khalkha. Being overpowered by compassion, he came before the Khalkha assembly to plead for the amicable settlement of the matter, removed their differences and, having brought the contending nations to terms, returned to his own country. At this Ton-khor Chho-je and the princes and ministers of Khalkha became greatly delighted. They gave him the title of "Tai-kavṣri". During the Dalai Lama Sonam Gya-tsho's visit to Mongolia, an Orod came to reverence him. He saluted and presented him a book called Serhod Tampa. On being asked the name of the book, the Orod replied, "Lord ! this is called Althan-kerel".¹

1. From Althan, gold, and kerel (Sanskrit kiran), ray of light, golden light.

The Gyalvāñ (Dalai), then accepted the men's alms and predicted that in the land of Orod after twenty years Buddhism should be introduced. According to this prediction, Guśri-khan introduced Buddhism by translating Serhod Tampa and many other volumes after a lapse of twenty years.

During this time king Chha Har having embroiled the six great principalities in internal wars, one of the princes took refuge among the Khalkha tribes. The Khalkha princes not agreeing to shelter the refugee, fell out among themselves. One of their chiefs named Chhogthu, banished from his own country took possession of the Amdo province. No sooner had he established his power over the Amdo people, than he began to injure Buddhism in general, and more particularly the Gelugpa church. When the report of his evil doings reached Guśri-Khan, he became greatly enraged. In order to succour particularly the church of Tsöñ Khapa, he left his native place at the head of a large army, and in the year Fire-Ox arrived near Khokhonur where he inflicted a signal defeat on Chhog-thu and slew 40,000 soldiers in the field. The whole of Amdo now passed under his power.

He then started for U to pay homage to the Dalai, Taši and Gaḥdan Thipa, of whom the last was the spiritual father of the other two. He had an interview with the fifth Gyalvāñ (Dalai Lama) and Panchhen Lo-ssan Chhoi-kyi-gyaltsan whom he greatly venerated. At the time of his visit to the Gaḥdan monastery, which took place during the night of the new moon, he saw the interior of the monastery by the light emitted from luminous pebbles on the floor and through the avenues. This event he considered very auspicious. In the year Fire-Ox during the winter season he returned to Khokhonur. In the mean time king Beri of Kham commenced to persecute the Buddhists, having himself become a proselyte to the Bon religion. Hearing this, Guśri Khan marched towards Kham in the year Earth-Hare with a large army, commenced hostilities and annexed Kham to his dominions. King Beri was captured in the year Iron-Dragon, on the 25th of the 11th month and was thrown into a prison in Kham, while all

the Lamas and chiefs of the Sakyapa, Gelugpa, Karmapa, Dukpa and Tagluṅpa sects were liberated, and sent to their respective monasteries. After defeating Beri, Guśri Khan turned his attention towards the conquest of Jañ, the king of which country submitted to him without hostilities and agreed to pay him homage and tribute.

During this period the whole of Tibet was ruled by king De-sí Tsānpa whose fort was the castle of Shi-ga-tse. Having adopted the teaching of the Karmapa school, he tried to exalt it above all others and evinced much disregard towards the Gelugpa school. Guśri Khan took umbrage at this. Accordingly, to raise the prestige of the Gelugpa church, he invaded U and Tsān at the head of his army, defeated all the armies of Tsān and sent the vanquished monarch and his ministers captives to the prison house at Neḥu, in U, and brought the whole of Tibet under his power. He was now acknowledged as the sovereign of the countries Tibet, Kham and Amdo. He organised an enlightened government. He extirpated all enemies and rivals of the Gelugpa church. The Indian king Rabo Siñ, the king of Yambu (Nepal), and the Rājā of Nari and many other border kings sent him presents according to their national custom. Afterwards he made a present of the whole of Tibet proper to the Fifth Dalai Lama in the year 1645 A.D., and thereby laid the foundation of the same and dignity of the Court of the Dalai Lamas. Even at the present day their earthly mansion Potala of Gaḥdan Phodañ is believed to be a counterpart of the celestial mansion of Gaḥdan or Tuṣitapuri (Paradise). Guśri Khan (Kausri Khan) had ten sons, of whom Tayen Khan and his grandson Lha-ssañ ruled successively in Tibet. Guśri's son, Tha-akhu-taši Bañhur, became king of Khokhonur. Thus the descendants of Guśri Khan, though they ruled separately as independent princes, did not require to be directed by others, but, subsequently, on account of the war raised by Tan-zing Wañ, they were weakened, when the Emperor of China subjugated them all and annexed their countries to his dominions. But he allowed them to retain their respective possessions, and permitted them

to follow their religious observances, according to the Gelugpa principles. It became customary with a great number of Mongolian Lamas to enter the different monastic colleges of Tibet, to study sacred literature. On their return from Tibet they shewed themselves capable of teaching the sacred religion. They founded schools in their respective native places. Holy personages from U and Tsan, Amdo and Kham, having come to take their birth in Mongolia, the country of Hor has now become flooded with monasteries and chhortens and religious congregations. The study of dialectics also has been introduced there.

With the exception of Solonpa, Bargwad and a few other savage tribes, all the Mongols are Buddhists. The heretical Yavana (Lalo) religion decayed and passed away. The old schools of Sakyapa and Karmapa Lamas were abolished, and in their place the Gelugpa school flourished, encompassing the land.

A GENEALOGY OF THE MONGOLIAN MONARCHY

[Obtained from Tibetan sources]

(*Ancestors of Jenghis-khan*)

Theñgir-khu-borta Chhi.

Bada-chhi-khan.

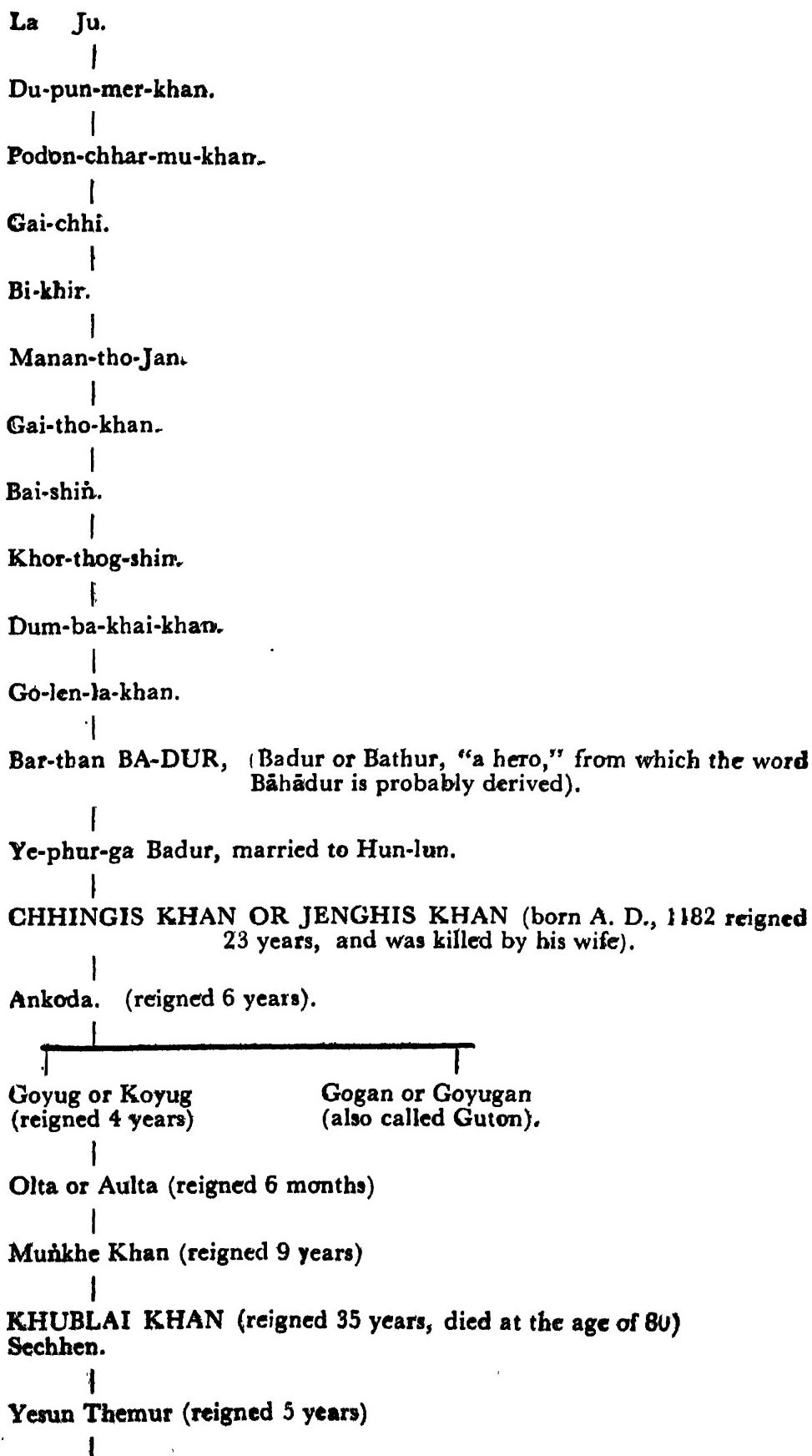
Tham-chhag.

Chhi-jimer-khan.

La-u-jañ-bhere-rol.

Pagu-ni-dun.

Sem-dsa-Ji.



O Wañ-je or Olje (reigned 13 years).
 |
 Haisan Khulug (not known)
 |
 Poyanthu (reigned 9 years)
 |
 Siddhi Pāla Yen Ju-thi (reigned 3 years)
 |
 Yesun-thumer (reigned 5 years)
 |
 Ra-khyi Phag (reigned 40 days).
 |
 Kushala-go-thiñ (reigned 30 days).
 |
 Thog-thumer Chi-ya-thu (reigned 5 years).
 |
 Erteni Chhog-thi (reigned 1 month).

|
 Tho-gan Thumer or Themur (1333 A. D., he sat for 35 years on the
 Imperial throne of China, and fled from Pekin in secret to
 save himself from the conspiracy formed by the Chinese
 nobles against his life).

[From Thumer or Themur the name Timur is probably formed.]
 The Miñ Dynasty superseded the Mongol Dynasty in China.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF JIN OR BUDDHISM IN CHINA.

Translated from *Dub-thāk-śelkyi meloṇ*.

BUDDHISM INTRODUCED FROM INDIA

Me-tse religious sect.—Previous to the spread of Buddhism in China, there arose certain religious sects which possessed something in common with Buddhism. One of those sects was called Me-tse, after the name of its founder. It enjoined every man to devote himself to the service and welfare of others even at the sacrifice of his own interest, life and body; it also taught that the nature of the soul from the beginning is pure and immaculate, and that only at times it suddenly becomes perverted by admixture of impurities produced by evil thought and action.

Li-ye-tse religious sect.—The second in importance among the non-Buddhist religions is that of Li-ye-tse, who taught that all things depend for their existence and development on mutual coherence and support. During this period, there having existed no communication with India, not a word of Buddha's name or religion was known in China. But Li-ye-tse, by his power of fore-knowledge, wrote in his own work that in the West there would appear a self-created noble sage, the performer of great deeds, capable at will of engaging in the highest degree of meditation, and passing beyond the region of speech, who would be called by the name of Buddha. By this prediction he first made known the sweet name of Buddha in the country of China.

Chwān-tse.—Again the founder of another religious sect, called Chwān-tse, saw in a vision that he was metempsychosed into a butterfly. After awaking from sleep, he reflected on the meaning of such a transient and empty dream which lavishes all on you and at last vanishes as a phantom, and inferred that life was an illusion.

Yu-si.—Again another teacher named 'Ys-su' (meaning the

lord of the world), who was famed as born of a rose, preached a religion which forbade the destruction of human lives and instituted the taking of vows for observing ten moral acts, similar to those of the Buddhists. It also taught that, the results of virtuous actions being multiplied, the pious should be born as gods to enjoy eternal happiness that on the other hand, the perpetrators of sinful actions should be plunged in hell, to be afflicted with everlasting pains; and that despite their repentance or confession of sins, greater damnation would await those who had knowingly and deliberately transgressed.

All these different sects prevailed in China as can be gathered from the religious histories of China. They did not spread all over the country, nor did their influence guide men for any considerable length of time, but they paved the way for the reception of Buddhism in that vast country.

In the 26th year of the reign of Chou Wan, the fifth of the Tehu Dynasty, there appeared, towards the south-western boundary of the kingdom, a halo of golden light, the lustre of which illuminated the realm. The king having witnessed this wonderful spectacle asked the astrologers what was meant by it. They declared that it presaged the birth of a saintly personage in that quarter, whose religion, after one thousand years, should be known in their own country (China). The king recorded this wonderful phenomenon in the Imperial *debthers*.¹ It was in that very year² that Buddha was born. Some authors believe that it was the 24th year of the Emperor Chou Wan's reign. At the age of twenty-nine Buddha entered on the life of a mendicant, on the 8th of the 2nd lunar month; he turned the Wheel of Dharma between the 30th and 49th years of his age, and last of all it is mentioned in the works of Chinese Buddhists that he obtained Nirvāṇa³ in the 79th year of his age, on the 15th day of the second month. Buddha died in the 53rd year of the Emperor Moo-wan's

1. Records.

2. The year 1882 A.D.=2835 A.B., after the birth of Buddha.

3. Died.

reign. In the 8th year of the reign of the Emperor Miñdhi-yuñ-phāñ of the great Han dynasty, 1013 years after the birth of Buddha, Buddhism was brought to China.⁴ On an auspicious day, in the third year of his reign, Miñdhi saw in a vision, that a saintly personage with a golden complexion, bright as the sun, full three fathoms high, approached his throne from the direction of heaven. In the following morning Miñdhi communicated the night's dream to his ministers, one of whom named Fu-ye informed him, that there existed a certain prophecy about the appearance of a great noble sage in India, of the description that the king gave, and he begged to ascertain if it was not so. The king referred to the ancient records, and computing the dates, found that just 1010 years had elapsed. Exceedingly delighted with this remarkable coincidence, he despatched a messenger of the name of Wañtsun to India, in search of the doctrine of Buddha. During that time, there lived in India two great Arhat-s, one called Mātaṅga who was born of the race of Kāśyapa, and the other named Bharaṇa Pañdita. The Chinese messenger besought them to visit his country, in order to spread the benefits of Buddhism among the teeming millions of his countrymen. The Arhat-s welcomed the invitation and equipped themselves for the journey. A few volumes of sacred scriptures, chiefly of the Mahāyāna school, severals portraits and some sacred relics, all of which they packed on a white horse for conveyance, completed the church necessaries with which they marched towards that distant land. They entered China by the southern route and were received by the Emperor at a place called Lou-you-khyi in southern China. Accompanied by Wañ-tsun, the messenger, they arrived at the palace, while the king, with the greatest demonstration of reverence, approached to receive them. They presented to the king all that they had brought from their country. The king expressed himself well-pleased with the presents, and especially with the image of Buddha which bore a striking resemblance to

4. This does not tally with the more correct account of the Indian historians, as may be collected from several Tibetan chronologies.

what he had seen in his vision. The Indian Arhat-s performed some miracles which served to strengthen the monarch's faith in Buddhism. He built a large temple called Peimassi and engaged his two Indian guests for conducting religious service therein. Seeing this, the priests of Lo-u-kyun,⁵ whose religion was then prevalent in China, remonstrated against the king's encouraging the new doctrine. They said that it would be improper to introduce an alien creed dissimilar to the ancient religion and practice of the country. They also exhibited many prodigies to convince the king of the superiority of their religion over Buddhism. The king, wavering much, at last decided that he should test the merits of both, by casting their respective religious scriptures into fire: whichever passed the ordeal successfully by being untouched by the fire, should have his patronage. It so happened that all the To-u-se books were burnt and the Buddhist volumes remained undamaged. The king being convinced of the impositions of the To-u-se priests, ordered that their high priests Selou and Chhushen should be burnt alive. The two Indian Pandit-s were extolled to the skies. The king with his ministers and a large number of subjects embraced Buddhism.

On this occasion of the triumph of Buddhism over the To-u-se religion, the king uttered the following verses :

"In a fox are not to be found the virtues of a lion,
The torch cannot enlighten like the sun or moon,
A lake cannot encompass the earth like the boundless main,
The splendour of Sumeru is not to be seen in a mountain,
The blessed clouds of religion encompassing the world,
Will rain upon and quicken the seed of universal good,
All that existed not before, will now appear.
From all quarters, ye moving beings, draw near the Victor
(Jina)!"

In the great fortress of He-nan-fu, the King erected seven temples, of which the temple of Peimassi⁶ was the principal one. He also established three convents for the use of nuns.

5. Referring to the Bon religion of China.

6. That is, 'the Lord of the white elephant'.

The king himself took the vows of an Upāsaka (a lay devotee). More than a thousand men, headed by the ministers of State, entered monkhood. Once the king addressed the Indian sages thus,—“Venerable Fathers, within the environs of my kingdom, is there no saintly Being residing for the permanent good and protection of all living beings ?” Mātaṅga replied : “Yes, Ārya Mañjuśrī dwells in Revo-tse-na on the top of Pañchāgra-parvata”. He then gave an account of Mañjuśrī’s chosen land, which accompanied by his friend Paṇḍit Bharāṇa he now prepared to find out. After much search he reached the enchanted spot which he distinguished from others by his saintly knowledge. He then reported it to the king—“During the days of Buddha Kāśyapa there lived a king of the name of Aśvakāla who, with the help of demons, constructed 84,000 chaityas, one of which exists on Revo-tse-na containing a fragment of the genuine relics of Kāśyapa Buddha”. The Emperor, in order to preserve the ancient chaitya, built a lofty temple over it which is now called by the name Tabotha chhorten. Near it he erected the great monastery of Shen-thun-su. Among many other religious edifices that were built by this pious monarch, one is the “white chhorten” of Pekin (Pechin). The monastic establishment of Revo-tse-na consisted of 620 monks and 230 nuns. The learned Arhat prepared an abridgement of the Hinayāna Aphorisms and Sūtrānta-s in the language of China. This work, the first Buddhist work in Chinese, is extant to the present day. Paṇḍit Bharāṇa also translated the five Sūtrānta-s, such as *Dasa-bhūmi* &c. but unfortunately they are lost. In course of time Arhat Mātaṅga and Paṇḍit Bharāṇa died. Miṇḍhi’s successor invited several other Indian Paṇḍits. Among the first batch Ārya-kāla, Sthavira Chilukākṣa, Śramaṇa Suvinaya, and five other Paṇḍits were well-known. In the second batch Paṇḍit Dharmakāla and several other Paṇḍits, well versed in Mahāyāna, Hinayāna and Vinaya Dharma (discipline), were of great note.

The third batch of Indian Pandits, Gaṇapati, Tikhini and others, propagated Buddhism in Kīśīnan and other provinces

of southern China. These with the Pandits who appeared during the reign of Napo Naan, were the most learned translators and best linguists. Thereafter during the reigns of the thirteen kings of the Han dynasty, fourteen kings of the Jin dynasty, several kings of Jin-yugur Su and other dynasties, the Thaṇ dynasty of twenty kings, and eighteen kings of the Soṇ dynasty successively, Indian Pandits and sages were invited to China, all of whom exerted themselves to increase the stock of Chinese Buddhist scriptures. There also appeared a host of learned Hwashaṇ⁷ (Chinese monks and Śramaṇa-s) some of whom visited India to study Sanskrit and Buddhism. There were others who acquired great proficiency in Sanskrit without going to India. They were all profoundly read in Buddhism and wrote numerous elaborate works in the Chinese language, besides translating many volumes of Sanskrit scriptures. They also wrote the lives of eminent Pandits of China, who laboured with wonderful energy for the diffusion of Buddhism. These are to be found in the Chinese works called "Histories of Religion".

BUDDHISM INTRODUCED FROM TIBET

From the time of the establishment of the Tartar (Hor) supremacy in China, many Tibetan sages visited China and contributed more and more to the propagation of Buddhism. The number of translation of Buddha's teachings and Śāstra-s increased. Those that were translated after the reign of king Wendhu of the dynasty of Su were analyzed and catalogued. Twice during the reign of the Thaṇ dynasty and twice in that of the Soṇ dynasty, the scriptures were revised, and additions made to them. All the books that were subsequently written were furnished with tables of contents and indexes. Last of all during the reign of the Tartar Emperor, Sa-chhen, the Chinese scriptures were compared with the Tibetan collections of the Kahgyur and Tangyur. Such treatises and volumes as were wanting in the Chinese were translated from

7. The same as Tibetan Lamas.

the Tibetan scriptures. All these formed one complete collection, the first part of which consisted of Buddha's teachings (Kahgyur). To the second part 21 volumes of translations, from Tibetan, the Chinese Śāstras, and the works of eminent Hwashaṇ, comprising 153 volumes, were added. The whole collection consisted of 740 volumes. An analytic catalogue of all the books was also furnished. In this collection many Śāstra-s were found which did not exist in the Tibetan collections.

In China there were five Buddhist schools.

- I. The Vinaya or Hinayāna school.
- II. The Mantra or Tāntrik school.
- III. The Mahāyāna school.
- IV. The Gabhira Darśana school.
- V. The Sārārtha Tantra.

I. VINAYA OR HINAYĀNA SCHOOL

The Indian sage Mātaṅga who first carried Buddhism into China was the first of this school in China. His successors, for a length of time maintained his school, but latterly it dwindled away when Kumāraśri was invited to China. Kumāraśri was a great scholar and deeply read in the sacred literature of the Buddhists. He had also a great fame for prodigies and fore-knowledge. During this time Chandana Prabhu⁹ was also invited. King Huṇ-shi showed great reverence to him. Che-u Hwashaṇ and 800 other pupils of the Prabhu were engaged in the great work of translating the sacred scriptures into the Chinese language. Sermons and instructions in Mahāyāna philosophy were copiously given, and more particularly the vows of monkhood and of the Bodhisattva order were taken by many. Henceforth the Hwashaṇ of China introduced the system of entering into the Bodhisattva order—a stage which is only attained after

8. The Chāṇkyā Lama, the spiritual guide of the Emperors of China, is believed to be an incarnation of Chandana, one of the disciples of Buddha.

fulfilling the duties of asceticism of the first order. Kumāraśrī together with Buddhajñāna, professor of Vinaya, Vimalacakṣu, and Dharmaruchi and the most eminent of his colleagues, translated the four Vyākaraṇa-s of the Vinaya portion of the sacred literature, and thereby succeeded in enhancing the teaching of the Hinayāna philosophy to the monks. Sthavira Saṅghavarma, another illustrious Buddhist teacher, came from India to this country (China). The system of the Vinaya school, introduced by Kumāraśrī and matured by Saṅghavarma, still prevails in China.

There is an account of the arrival in China of a famous Sinalese nun named Devasarā, accompanied by ten nuns from India. It is not known whether she was successful in her attempt to organize the convent system and of extending the vows of chastity and religious devotion to females.

In the four fundamental truths of religion and in works respecting the solution of disputes and doubts about them, the Chinese do not differ from the Tibetans. From among the large body of books of instruction they selected those which suited them most in respect of their habits and ways of life; in consequence of which they differ in some external observances from their co-religionists in other countries. They have their own peculiarities. Animal food is forbidden according to their custom. They do not ride nor drive such animals as are naturally intended for those purposes. They prefer the smallest kind of mendicant's platter to the larger sizes. The mendicant's raiment is sewn with depreseion and loopholes, in the order and arrangement of birds' feathers. In China, in fact, there is but one class of Buddhists, in consequence of which here is no necessity for the Hwashaṇ to put marks on their dress, like the Tibetan Lamas of the present day and the Indian Śramaṇa-s in ancient times, to distinguish the followers of one school from those of another.

According to the established laws of China, yellow is the

sign of royalty, red being the colour reserved for the ministers and nobles. The king of that age, not liking to alter the ancient usage and also to give a distinctive appearance to the monkish dress, prescribed scarlet for the clergy. In China, people consider it a shameful matter to appear in public with naked arms. So they did not chose to adopt the mendicant's raiment as prescribed in the sacred books. Unlike the Tibetan monks who are forbidden to use sleeves, the Chinese Hwashaṇs wear them.

In later times when Tibetan Lamas visited China, the question of uniformity in clerical dress arose. The Tibetan Lamas succeeded in preserving their own uniform, owing to the supremacy of the Tartar⁹ Emperors over China who tolerated national practices. Up to the present day, those customs remain unchanged. The Chinese Hwashaṇs dress in scarlet with sleeved jackets, and the Tibetan Lamas dress themselves in red and yellow, each according to their national practice.

II. TANTRIKISM

The first of all the Tantriks who came to China from India was *Sthavira Śrimitra*. He diffused the knowledge of Tantrikism by translating the *Mahāmāyūra* and other *Dhāraṇī-s* into the Chinese language. Although contemporaneously with him many other eminent Indian Tantriks came to China, yet very few books on Tantrikism were translated for the public. The sage Kumāraśrī also did not communicate his Tantrik lore to the general public, but only to one or two of his confidential disciples, so that Tantrikism made very little progress in China. The little progress that it made was due to Vajrabodhi, a learned Ācārya of Mālava, and to his pupil Amoghavajra. These two arrived together in China during the reign of the Emperor Thaṇ-miṇ-huṇ. Vajrabodhi instructed Shi-ye-she-thah-ye and Śerab-thah-ye¹⁰, the two

9. Mongol.

10. These are Tibetan translations of Chinese names.

great Hwashaïns, in mysticism. Amoghavajra performed the ceremony of Vajra Garbha Mañdala for the benefit of the king who, on account of his devotion to Buddhism, was given the religious name of "Repository of wisdom and knowledge of the Triple *piṭaka*". The astrologers having found that malignant stars were ascendant on the king's destiny, he averted the evil by performing a *yajña* as prescribed in Buddhist mysticism. Amoghavajra also propitiated one of the guardians of the world called Vaiśramaṇa and thereby enabled the king to triumph over his enemies. Being pleased with him for his eminent services, the king made him a gift of a piece of land supporting three thousand tenants. He translated seventy-seven principal treatises on Tantrikism. After installing his pupil, Huilan, in his place as the high priest, or Vajrācārya, he retired to the region of peace. Although both these two great Tantriks and their pupils passed for saints and sages, yet Tantrikism did not flourish long but soon declined. During the reign of the Sooñ dynasty, Pañdit Dānarakṣita, Dharmabhadra and other Indian Pañdits visited China, but being very jealous of their mystic operations being known to the public, they only communicated the mantra-s to a selected few, under solemn promise of not revealing them to the people. The later Hwashaïns were taught in only a few of the Tantrik rites, such as the ceremony Amoghapāśa. It was owing to these several restrictions that mysticism made no progress in China.

III. VAIPULYA DARŚANA (MAHĀYĀNA SCHOOL)

The founder of this sect was Thaṅ-saṅ,¹¹ one of the most famous Buddhist teachers of China. He was a descendant of Tuṅ-kuṅ, the chief minister of Thaṅ-kiṅ. He was admitted into the order of monkhood at a very early age. Being of saintly origin, in intelligence, quickness, sharpness of mental faculties and aptitude for learning, he was unrivalled by any boy of his age. While only 11 years old, he committed

11. Contraction of Thaṅ Ssan-tsaṅ.

to memory the *Vimala-kirti-sūtra* of the Tangyur and the *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka* of Kaḥgyur, both of which he could reproduce from memory. He first mastered the *Abhidharma-piṭaka* and then studied all the volumes of the Kaḥgyur and Tangyur collections. At the age of twenty-nine he became acquainted with the Prākrit language of India, and with a view to travel in that country, secured for himself a passport from the Emperor. Passing through different countries, he reached India, and travelled all over its central and border provinces, such as Kashmir, in all of which he visited numerous places of pilgrimage. He learnt about man of the higher and lower *yāna*-s from several Indian Paṇḍits. Jetāri, an illustrious sage, was his chief preceptor. At the noble monastery of Nalendra, he learnt the Yogācāra philosophy from one of its most learned professors, Danta-bhadra or Danta-deva, who was then in his 106th year. Some writers identify him with the Ācārya Dantasena, the pupil of Vinaya-deva. He met his chief preceptor Jetāri a second time, from whom he again received instructions on the Yogācārā tenets. Besides Jetāri and Dantasena, there were other Paṇḍits from whom he received instruction in Buddhist philosophy. He devoted one year and three months to hearing lectures on Maitreya's series of *Dharma-śāstra*-s. In the remaining nine months of the second year, he completed his study of Nyāya (Logic). Since then during a period of three years he studied Indian philosophies of various schools, and vanquished a certain Brāhmaṇist king in disputation. In refutation of heresies, he wrote a work based on Mahāyāna principles, called "The Extinguisher of Heresy", containing 6600 śloka-s—the excellence of which struck all Indian wise men with wonder.

Again Paṇḍit Haraprabha having written a treatise in refutation of the Yogācāra tenets, Thān Ssan-tsaṇ also wrote a volume containing 8000 śloka-s, called *Ekāntasiddha*, which he presented to his teacher Danta-bhadra. All these works being written in the Sanskrit language, the Chinese philosopher became eminently famous. The people of Āryāvarta gave him the name Mahāyāna Deva. Some of the Indian

Ācārya-s became his pupils in Buddhist philosophy, and king Śilāditya and Kumāra, and the king of Southern India called Dhātubhadra and several other princes treated him with great reverence. Among the numerous Hwashaṇ teachers who visited India, Thān Ssan-tsaṇ was the only one who obtained the high dignity of Paṇḍit and enjoyed the veneration of Indian kings. After an absence of seventeen years of which three were spent in the return journey, he returned to China. The reigning Emperor of China, Chen-ku-an, received him with the greatest demonstration of reverence and respect, and Thān Ssan-tsaṇ presented him with more than 600 volumes of Sanskrit manuscripts written on palmyra leaves, relics of Buddha images, portraits and different sorts of Indian articles. The king placed him at the head of the monastery of Hun-fussi, where he employed him, together with other learned Hwashaṇ, in translating 607 volumes of Buddhism including the Śerchin *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, chiefly of Maitreya Dharma, also in revising many of the ancient translations. He rebuilt the monastery of Tshi-ain-ssi or in Tibetan Cham-baliṇ. During that period there were 3,716 religious establishments in China, from all of which he recruited intelligent and well-behaved monks for his new monastery. He also admitted new monks. By these means he was enabled to establish a grand monastic establishment, containing 18,630 monks of which he became the abbot. After the death of Chen-ku-an, his son Ka-u-tsūṇ became Emperor. He greatly patronised Thān Ssan-tsaṇ and his monastery. He made excellent arrangements for the support of the clergy and appointed the illustrious sage as bishop of the three great monasteries, Paiminssi,¹² Hunfussi and Tshi-an ssi.

Thān Ssan-tsaṇ introduced the three order of priesthood and the five methods of meditation among the clergy, and wrote commentaries on the *Śata-sāhasrikā*, according to the Yogācāra method, eight treatises on his own system (*Vipulacaryā*), the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* and many other *sūtrānta-s*.

He also wrote many śāstra-s in general, such as *Nyāya*

12. Variously called Pai-massi or Piman-ssi.

Saṅgraha, *Kriyā Saṅgraha*, &c., and devoted all his attention and energies to diffusing the *Mahāyāna* and *Yogācāra* schools. He erected a lofty chaitya called Ārya Pantha to the south of the monastery of Tshi-ain-ssi, in which he deposited palm-leaf MSS. in Sanskrit of Indian scriptures and some sacred relics. He collected one million sacred images from various sources, ransomed 10,000 animal lives, distributed alms to 10,000 men and offered ten millions of lamps to sacred beings. Having worked for a period of nearly forty years to promote the well-being of all living beings, at the age of sixty-five he was emancipated from mundane sufferings. The Vipulacharyā doctrine of Buddhism, taught by him, was obtained by him from his teacher Dantabhadra. The following were the illustrious professors whom he followed :

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Buddha. | 5. Dharmarakṣita. |
| 2. Maitreya. | 6. Ānanda. |
| 3. Ārya Saṅga. | 7. Vinaya-bhadra. |
| 4. Vasu-mitra. | 8. Danta-sena. |

It was Thāñ Ssan-tsañ who first introduced this system of Buddhism into China. The name Thāñ Ssan-tsañ means "the knower of the three *piṭaka*-s in the Kingdom of Thāñ".¹³ From one of Thāñ Ssan-tsañ's pupils named Khuhu-ki-fūsi, Ti-yan-Shi-han-shehu (teacher of the Śūnyatā philosophy) and other learned Hwashañs received instruction, and handed down the system to posterity.

IV. THE SPREAD OF THE ŚŪNYATĀ PHILOSOPHY

Buddha delivered this philosophy to Mañju-ghoṣa¹⁴ who in turn delivered it to Nāgārjuna. The following were the eminent teachers of this philosophy :—

1) Nāgārjuna. 2) Ārya Deva, also called Nila-netra, on account of his having two spots, as large as the eyes, on both his cheeks. His real name was Chandrakirti. 3) Svāmi Prajñā-raśmi. 4) the Chinese sage Yeśe-pal who was mira-

13. He was a member of the Thāñ royal family.

14. The same as Mañjuśrī.

culously visited by Nāgārjuna. 5) Yeše-lodoi, from whom Ti-chi-taśi learnt it. The last was an eminent scholar who first introduced this philosophy into China and by his piety and excellent accomplishments, promoted the well-being of his countrymen. In the knowledge of the Abhidharma, there was none in China to equal him. In the practice and observance of Vinaya, he is said to have been like a Bodhisattva (saint). He became spiritual guide to the second king of Thengur in Southern China and also to king Wendhi of the Su dynasty. In moral merit he was incomparably great. He erected a monastery called Kw-chhiñ-ssi, on mount The-antha, and another on the hill called Yu-khyu-wan. In these two he founded thirty-six schools, and furnished them with complete copies of the Kākyūr and Tangyur. He constructed 800,000 images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas and miniature *chaitya-s*, in gold, silver, brass, sandalwood, &c. He ordained 14,000 monks and had 32 principal disciples, all of whom were versed in the Śūnyatā philosophy. He wrote numerous commentaries on the various branches of Buddhism, besides notes on Buddha's precepts delivered at the Mrigarshi grove, the *Mahāvaiḍulya-sūtra*, *Prajñā-pāramitā* and *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*. He also introduced the study of a series of books called "the sacrament of offering obeisance by prostrations", "Tun-min", "Tse-yanmin", "Beema" a treatise on mysticism, "Ma-ñe", and *Sūtrañta-vidyā*, a complete analysis of Dharma and perfection.

At the request of King Wendhi, he wrote forty religious treatises and fifty synopses of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, *Sadharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Mūla-prajñā*,¹⁵ &c., for the use of students of Buddhism. After labouring for thirty years in endeavouring to propagate the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna, at the beginning of the sixtieth year of his age,¹⁶ in the 17th year of Khai-hu-ans reign, he sat absorbed in deep meditation to pass away from this life. He vanquished the "great god" of the Chinese, named Kwan-yunchhañ,¹⁷ or "the lord of

15. Commentary by Nāgārjuna.

16. On the 24th of mid-winter month.

17. Also-called Kwan-lo-yu-yer.

clouds and thunder and bound him under a solemn oath to defend Buddhism in China. He had thirty-two principal disciples of whom the following were remarkable for their learning and purity of life :—

- (1) Tañ-an-tsun-che.
- (2) Fu-hu-wa-tsun-che.
- (3) Tuñ-yañ the-an-tsun-che.
- (4) Cho-shi-laiñ tsun-che.
- (5) Kiñ-shi-tsun-che.

Among his spiritual successors, one named Tha-an-thai-tsun, who spread his system in the southern province of China called Kiñ-nan, became very eminent, while the northern part called Tuñ-yu-an, adopted a different school. Commencing with Ti-che, spiritual father and son, and during the five spiritual succession—viz., (1) Dhi-sin-fu-sun-da-shee. (2), Yun-hu-wa.ti-yan-da-shee, (3) Shi-an.she-hu-fa-tsañ-dashee, (4) Chhiñ-li-hañchhiñ-kwa-shee, and (5) Ku-hi-fuñ-chuñ-meedashee, the study-of “Phal-chhen” was chiefly pursued by Chinese Buddhists. The same practice has come down to the present day and it must be admitted that Phal-chhen is the favourite scriptural work of the modern Chinese Buddhists. The fourth chief Hwashañ, named Chhiñ-li-hañ-kwashi, also known by the name of Then-kwan—meaning Vimala-driṣṭi or “clear sight”—became the abot of Revo-tse-na, for which reason he was called Chhiñ-li-hañ-kwashi. He flourished during the reign of Thañ-miñ-hu-añ, and was well versed in the ten branches of sacred literature as well as in the science of government. Through the religious sanctity and purity of his life, he obtained sainthood. Although he did not visit India, yet he had mastered the Sanskrit language and could fluently converse in it, nor did he require any interpreter to explain Sanskrit works. He had a gigantic frame, nine cubits high; his hands hung to his knees; he possessed forty teeth; his eyes were scarcely seen to wink; and the very sight of his monstrous person struck men with awe and reverence. Throughout the country of China he was famed as a Mahā Pandita, who had no rival. The illustrious

Chāṇkyā Rinpoche Rolpai-dorje, the spiritual guide of the Emperor Chhi-n-luñ, in his hymns on the story of Revo-tse-na, describes this great Pañdit as an incarnation of Maitreya Buddha. Other writers believe him to have been an emanation of Mañju Ghoṣa. Among the Chinese, he was the greatest scholar in Phal-chhen, on which subject he wrote three large commentaries. Among his principal works the following are well-known : (1) "Vows", (2) "the Mirror of Dharma", (3) "the Mirror of Lamp of Śāstra-s," (4) Bodhisattva Pañca Mārga, and other synopses of the triple *pitakas*, (5) three hundred detached treatises or Śāstra-s. It is universally admitted that a greater scholar in Phal-chhen never appeared in China. He lived one hundred and two years, during which time he became spiritual guide to seven kings in succession, and taught the Sūtrānta-s several times. His school is known by the name of "Shi-an-she-hu". Its tenets differ very little from those of Thān-ssan-tsāns, the difference being in the ways prescribed. The 21st spiritual successor of this great teacher named Khu-an-fu-thai-fa-she became celebrated for his learning. He is said to have been miraculously visited by Maitreya, while going on a pilgrimage to Revotse-na. Although the school founded by Tishi and his spiritual son, continued for a long time, yet it wrought very little change in the religious persuasion of north and south China.

This is the most ancient school of India, derived from Buddha and handed down to his spiritual successors directly. The following is the order of succession in which it has come to posterity :

Buddha, Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Śanabasti, Madhyamāhna, Upagupta, Dhītika, Arhat Kṛṣṇa, Sudarśana, Vibhāga, Buddhānanta, Buddha Mitra, Panasha, Aśva Ghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Rāhula-bhadra, Saṅgānanta, Arhat Ghanasa, Kumāralāṭa, and Sha-ya-ta.

ANCIENT CHINA, ITS SACRED LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION AS KNOWN TO THE TIBETAN¹.

1. Translated from *Dub-thah-selkyi-melon*.

The name of this great country in its own language is Šen-te-hu (Šen=God, Tehu=land) or the celestial country. Some authors identify it with the fabulous Continent of Lu-phapa.

The people of Āryāvarta call it Mahā China, where Mahā means great and China is a corruption of Tshin. Among the sovereigns of China She.hu.hun, king of the province of Tshin, became very powerful. He conquered the neighbouring countries and made his power felt in most of the countries of Asia, so that his name as king of Tshin was known to distant countries of the world. In course of time by continual phonetic change, the name Tshin passed first into Tsin and then into Chin or China, whence the Sanskrit designation Mahā China or Great China. The Tibetans call it Gya-nag, (Gya="extensive" and nag="Black") or people of the plains who dress in black clothes : for all the Chinese dress in blue or black. So also the Tibetans gave the appellation of Gya-gar to the people of India, on account of their wearing white dresses. According to the ancient historical records, many religious schools and customs originated in China. Of these, three were the most important, viz., She-hu, Do-hu and Jīn. The first, She-hu, partakes more of a literary than of a religious character. We shall therefore treat it as literature. According to Sambhoṭa, the father of Tibetan literature, letters are the origin of all science and speech : they are the rudiments of words and their significations : to the formation of letters, religion owes its success : but for the principles of reading and writing, the progress of work, knowledge and science in the world would have come to a standstill.

The first sovereign of China, King Fo-hi, was a very accomplished prince, possessed of an intellect quick, powerful and

discerning. With the aid of his wise minister Tshankye he first invented the art of writing and gave to the letters their form, power and inflection or orthography. He introduced the system of writing on bamboo slates with waxen pencils. His characters were of a rounded shape called Ton-tse, and it was during the reign of Tshin-shi-hun that his minister Li-si invented the running hand which were called Li-si after his name. His general Minthe-yan invented the brush pen made of hare's hair, and, with ink prepared from the smoke of pine-wood, painted the characters on silk cloth. Afterwards Tshai-wan of Nag-rum invented paper. Then, by the invention of a neater sort of characters called Khya-i-si (and the cursive called Tsho-u-si) a more convenient and easy method of writing was introduced which gradually displaced the earlier systems. Many works were written which illustrated the simple and childish character of the earlier people. Li-si and Minthe's systems of slow and quick handwriting were found unfit and rude and so fell into disuse.

The first king Fo-hi wrote a large treatise on the art of divination and astrology called Khyen-shan which is the earliest work of the kind known. He also wrote a book on Ethics, called "The perfect and judicious behaviour". Then appeared the five literary and moral works called by the general designation of Ookyins, viz., :—Yeekyin Shee-kyin, Shoo-kyin, Lee-kyin and Chhun-chho-u. The authorship of Yeekyin is attributed to Fo-hi, the writers of the remaining four being unknown. She-hu is also a well-known term for that science which treats of the regulation of the customs and manners of a nation.

Chapter I.

ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY

The works on this subject are very interesting. The founder of this philosophy was the famous sage Khuin-su-tse (in Tibetan Kon-tse, the latinized Confucious). He was born

not long after the birth of Buddha. In the later period of the Te-hu dynasty, during the reign of Te-hu-wiñ, Khun-fu-tse was born in Shan-tu—one of the thirteen great divisions of China. His biography is well-known everywhere in China and he is universally believed to have been a particularly sacred personage. The present laws of China and the ethical works, so well-suited to the welfare of all classes of men, are all founded on the Code of Laws first drawn up by this great philosopher. From that time to the present day, for a period of more than two thousand and five hundred years, during which time China has witnessed many political changes and revolutions, the downfall and growth of many dynasties, the laws of Khun-fu-tse have continued to regulate and govern the manners and customs of the whole community from the Emperor to the meanest subject. So wise and excellent are those laws that they have undergone little change in the course of time. Being the first and wisest preceptor of the monarchs of China, the portrait and name of Khun-fu-tse are adored and venerated by every sovereign who succeeds to the celestial throne. This ceremony handed down from generation to generation has got the sanction of antiquity as a heritage to the Emperors of China. The descendants of Khun-fu-tse enjoy the second order of the Empire as a hereditary honour, in token of the high regard due to the memory of the wisest man born in China. The Tibetans believe that their celebrated Sron-tsan Gampo was an incarnation of Khun-fu-tse—one of miraculous birth—in whom was manifest the spirit of Chenressig. Some authors conjecture that Khun-fu-tse was the inventor of astrology from the few verses bearing his name and praise, which head almost all the astrological works of China and Tibet. He is also believed by some people to have been the inventor of handicrafts, manufacture, technology &c. It was Khun-fu-tse who first taught philosophy and literature in China, but he wrote only a few works on those subjects. His pupils and followers made copious additions to and improvements on his work, which were revised and annotated. The words so annotated and revised which served

as guides to the scholars of China, are four in number, viz. :—*Ta-she-u*, *Chuñ-yuñ*, *Loon-yu* and *Men tse*. The outlines of *Ta-she-u*, drawn up by *Khuñ-fu-tse* himself, were enlarged by his pupil named *Chontse* from hints taken from him. The second work *Chuñ-yuñ* was composed by *Tse-se*. The third work *Loon-yu* was attributed to the joint authorship of *Tse-le-u*, *Tse-kyan* and *Tse-sha*. The fourth work *Men-tse* derived its name from that of its author. These writers were either *Khuñ-fu-tse*'s pupils or pupils of his pupils. From the time the Te-hu dynasty was founded, literature made rapid strides in China and the number of literary works greatly increased. There grew up during this time, (as afterwards), a number of scholars (not less than 100) who interpreted these works and wrote commentaries on them. The statutes and laws which uphold the government were drawn up during the reign of *Hwanku* by a learned scholar named *She-u-hu*, on the basis of *Khuñ-fu-tse*'s works. A few years afterwards, *Tse-u-fu-tse*, a great philosopher, wrote many original works which even at the present day, are considered as great authorities and works of reference. Again, there are five other works, called *Kan-chen*, which resemble the *Deb-thers* or Historical records of Tibet in subject-matter; besides they contain many literary and philosophical notices which come more properly under the heading of *She-hu*, Astrology or the art of Divination.

The earliest written encyclopaedia of Astrology is the chief repository of *Yeekyin*, the first of the *Uhu* series. The art of Divination called *Porthan* which was brought into Tibet during the reign of the *Than* dynasty was obtained from this great work. In early times, as stated above, there reigned in China the *Hun* dynasty of three kings and that of *Dhi* of five kings. During the reign of *Fo-hi* (whose name is also written as *Hpushy*), the first of the *Hun* kings, there came out from the great river *He* in the province of *Henan* (modern *Ha-nan*) a monster called *Luñ-ma* having the body of a horse and the head of a dragon. On the back of the hideous monster there were eight figures or *Mudrā-s* (called *Pakwas* in Chinese), curiously inscribed. The eight *Pakwas* being multiplied to

64 by permutation, a work was written under the name of Lyan-shan (chief work). The figures on the back of the monster were called He-tho-hu; *tho-hu* in Chinese meaning "figures" and *He* being the river from which the monster issued. This earlier account of the origin of the Pakwa is called the "First Heavenly System". Afterwards a learned man by the name of Señ-noñ wrote a work on the Porthan, called Ku-hi-tsang, based on the first work on divination. It is also said that it was brought down by an eagle from the mountain called Swan-ywan. It is related by some writers that there is a work which was composed from the cry of an eagle. The third monarch of the Hun dynasty named Yee-khyuñ (written as Yihi-shyin), by accurate observation of the heavenly bodies and by assigning the distinctive signs of male and female to the five elements, formed the ten fundamentals² (and gave the names of mouse, bull, &c., to the twelve concatenations or Dondals³ named the divisions of time, viz.,—years, months and days). All these were represented on a globe, called Hun-thyeu-yi constructed by him for the purpose. The clocks (Tse-men-chin) and watches (Pe-yo-hu) of modern China are prepared after those illustrations. Moreover, the invention of chariots, boats, forts, ten sorts of musical airs and the use of arms were attributed to him.

2. The five elements of astrology :—

- 1. Tree, Male and Female
- 2. Fire ,,,
- 3. Earth ,,,
- 4. Iron ,,,
- 5. Water ,,,

3. The Sanskrit words corresponding to the 12 *dondals* of Tibetan astrology or causal connection on which the existence of the human soul depends are :—

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Avidyā. | 5. Śaḍayatana. | 9. Upādāna. |
| 2. Saṃskāra. | 6. Sparśa. | 10. Bhava. |
| 3. Vijñāna. | 7. Vedanā | 11. Jāti |
| 4. Nāmarūpa. | 8. Trṣṇā. | 12. Jarāmaraṇa. |

THE LATER HEAVENLY SYSTEM :

The fourth king of the dynasty of Te-hu named Yo-hu-tho-hu-thañ-shi, was, in the year Tree-Dragon (the first of the heavenly years according to this system of calculating time), presented with a wonderful tortoise by a man from the south named Yui-shan-she. By carefully observing the figures and marks on the tortoise's shell, which were supposed to express the names of divisions of time, the king improved the former books on astrology and the art of divination. From that year to the Fire-Dragon year of the 12th cycle when the Emperor Chheu-lun ascended the throne, there elapsed 4092 years. There are legends which relate that a subject presented a wonderful tortoise to king Yo-hu, but there is no record of his utilizing the marks on the shell for the purposes of astrology. It is stated that king Shi-hu-yohi obtained a wonderful tortoise of miraculous origin from the river Loo of Hanan, and by reading the astrological symbols and marks known as Pakwa, found on its shell, wrote a large treatise on "divination." He gave the name of Loo-tho-u⁴ to it, from Loo, the river whence the tortoise came out.

The period during which the heaven and earth remained one and undivided,⁵ was known as Nam Na, and the period when they became separated and distinct from each other, as Nam Chhye. During these periods, and also previously, the science of Pakwa or astrology and divination is said to have existed in itself, in consequence of which it is considered as ever unchangeable. It is not stated in the Chinese books that the "great tortoise" is the prime cause of all things, as is fabled by Tibetan writers on astrology and the black art, after the above account of the wonderful tortoise of the

4. Tho-hu meaning the book of symbols and signs.

5. From this it must not be understood that the first work on divination written from the figures on the horse-dragon, was composed before the formation of the Heaven and Earth from chaos. The name Name Na is used to distinguish its priority to that which immediately followed it.

Chinese from whom undoubtedly they have derived their knowledge of astrology and divination. The following are the verses on which the Tibetans, after the Chinese, base all their knowledge of astrology and of the position of the earth.

*The principal root of astrology
Is the great golden tortoise.
The tail to the north and the above,
The right and left side lie east and west,
The limbs extend to the four quarters.
On which lies supreme
The world Jambudvipa and rests.*

Wen-wān father of the first king of the Chigur dynasty who was a saintly personage revived the first work on astrology written by Fo-hi. The later heavenly system of astrology, based on the symbols and marks on the tortoise's shell, was revised and improved by Che-hu-ween. Altogether there were three great works on astrology written at three different time, the first being Le-an-shan's, the second Ku-hi-tsañ's and the third Wen-wāns—all well-known in China. During the later period of the Te-hu dynasty, the wicked and stupid king Chhen-gur in utter ignorance of the worth of astrology, and apprehending danger from the existence of astrological works which in his eyes appeared ominous and fraught with evil, ordered them to be burnt. The first two works were destroyed, but fortunately Wen-wān's work survived, and it is on this that the modern astrological works of China are chiefly based. Wen-wān's son, Chi-hu-kyuñ, revised and illustrated his father's work. Khun-fu-tse is said to have improved upon the writing of his predecessors, but this is questioned by some writers who doubt if he ever wrote on the subject of astrology and divination. Another painstaking author wrote a small treatise on astrology, based on Che-hu-kyuñ's work. One of Khun-fu-tse's pupils is said to have drawn up some astrological formulae under the name of Shi-chin, which were ascribed by some to Khun-fu-tse.

himself. Probably people mistake this book for Khun-fu-tse's. Among the ancient writers of China, Fo-hi Wen-wań, Chi-hu-kyuń and Khuń-fu-tse are famed as four saintly authors. Old men of Tibet believe that the art of divination was first discovered by Mañjuśri, the god of wisdom, on the summit of Revo-tse-na. Other accounts, stating that it was given to the world by the goddess Namgyalmo (S. Vidyā) and by Padma Sambhava, also obtain credit in Tibet, but are mere fabrications, having no more truth in them than those ascribing the origin of astrology to Buddha.

MEDICAL WORKS

The second king of the Hun dynasty named Yan-dheu-shen-huń-shi was the first who wrote on medicine. To feel and understand the pulse and to divine human destiny by an intimate knowledge of the fundamental elements were the principal subjects of his works. The latter science⁶ was unknown in India and other countries. The four great classes of Tibetan medical works are said to have been based upon the above named early Chinese works. The five fundamental elements of the Chinese are quite dissimilar to those of the Indians, being tree, fire, earth, iron, and water, while ākāśa has no place. Tree probably supplies the place of wind, but it is not easy to understand how iron could be imagined to be a substitute for ākāśa.

MUSIC

Yu, minister of King Shun, discovered the use of the five Khin and the twenty-five tones of music called Shee in Chinese or Sur in Sanskrit. He wrote a book on songs and musical performances called Sho-hu. The Tha-thi dance

6. The science of predicting human destiny by marking the pulsation is different from palmistry which was known in India.

of Tibet of the present day was based upon this Chinese mode. There also appeared many original works on rhetoric (*Alam-kāra Vidyā*) in both the periods. The number of figures of speech in the Chinese language is greater than in Tibetan.

Works on history, technology, selection of lands, physiognomy, and prognostication existed from an early age. The number of works on these subjects increased in latter times, but they are not classed as great works.

SHE-HU OR AN EXPOSITION AND VINDICATION OF THE CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY

With regard to religious faith among the She-hu scholars very few persons possess the "predisposition to piety" (according to Buddhistic principles). The majority of them, content to limit their aims to this life, are careless whether their future after death be one of happiness or damnation, while others look upon this life as the consequences of Karma and Phala. They argue that had it been true, Khuṇ-fu-tse and King Fo-hi would have mentioned it in their works, which contain no such account. Both King Fo-hi and Khuṇ-fu-tse, who were distinguished for their profound wisdom and learning, were, no doubt, aware of those religious principles, but omitted them in their works, owing to the people of the age not having been so far advanced as to comprehend the triple piṭaka-s of Dharma. The works called U-hu-jin and Ssi-shi-hu, &c., treated of such matters of worldly utility as would meet the requirements of the age they lived in, and would pave the way for the future reception of Buddhism. Fo-hi and Khuṇ-fu-tse did not speak a single word against Buddhism like the unprincipled Cārvāka-s who reject the theory of the transmigration of souls and the inevitable consequence of Karma and Phala. Once, one of Khuṇ-fu tse's pupils asked him what would be the state of man after death. Khuṇ-fu-tse answered that he could not say that there was no future existence, that it was so mysterious and unknown that he could not hazard any opinion on it: but would presently

explain all that was conceivable and open to cognition. Again once while he was explaining some metaphysical points respecting the supreme being, one of his pupils, Wuen-fu-hu, questioned him thus, "Sir, if there is a great being as you mention, what and where is he? Is he so and so?" Khuñ-fu-tse having replied in the negative, the pupil asked if he (Khuñ-fu-tse himself) was not that being; "No how could I be like that supreme being?" replied Khuñ-fu-tse and said, "Such a being is born in the western quarter" (by which he evidently meant Buddha). In the works of these two personages there are some mysterious passages which appear like the aphorisms of Buddhism, capable of a higher signification than the mere earthly objects they are taken to mean. The text of Yee-kyin in some respects resembles the Tantrik philosophy of the Buddhists, as has been explained by the most learned Lama Chañ-kya Rolpai Dorje. During the supremacy of the Jin dynasty, two eminent Chinese scholars named Hwashañ Fo-shen and Dhu-hu-min, wrote commentaries on both She-hu and Dohu, in which they pointed out many striking resemblances to the theories of Buddhism. In a later work called "The History of the rise and progress of religion (or Chhoijun)" being an exposition of the works of the great She-hu teacher Khuñ-fu-tse, it is found that his teachings were akin to those of Buddhism. Khuñ-fu-tse's work avowedly treat on ethics and on public utility for the benefit both of individuals and of nations, but essentially they point to saintly ways. Those who have studied Buddhism critically, can easily perceive the similarity between Khuñ-fu-tse's teaching and that of Buddha, but the general readers of Khuñ-fu-tse may not form any sound judgment, in this respect. Of the classes which go by the name of U-hu-chin, five viz., Yin, Yee, Lee, Kyi, and Sheen, are the principal works. In the Chinese language they are called U-hu-chhañ or one's own doctrine, behaviour or morality. The first, Yin, inculcates mild and gentle behaviour; the 2nd, Yee, treats of affection, cheerfulness, and good humour; the 3rd Lee, of manners and customs; the 4th, of wisdom, the 5th, of a calm and firm mind. The four

well-known ethical works called Ssi-she-hu are mere applications of these five subjects. Those who in China carefully master these five subjects are regarded as sages, those who can practise them, as saints.

ORIGIN OF HEAVEN, EARTH AND MEN ACCORDING TO THE "YE-KYIN"

In the beginning, before the formation of Heaven and Earth there existed nothing but "Hun tui" or void, which evolved of itself and was in a state of chaotic agitation from eternity, until it fell into utter confusion and disorder. In this state of chaos, the order, distinction, cognition, classification and nomenclature of things were unknown. The Chinese account bears a striking resemblance to the account as to the origin of the world in all Tibetan works on mysticism, that in the beginning there existed nothing except void from which the world arose. In that chaotic state there was the virtue of "The-ji" that is, the supreme nature, matter and self-existent energy. Just as we have the innate power of distinguishing different things in ourselves, so the primeval chaos possessed the virtue of giving rise to distinct existences. From its internal agitation, it produced first of all Namba (species), and nature, which were like male and female. Again these being endowed with a virtue like the germination of the seed by the union of the male and female elements, divided themselves into the "Tsha-shiñ", i. e., the fourfold distinction into (1) great male, (2) little male, (3) great female and (4) little female. Afterwards from the union of those two species sprung the Pakwa or Tibetan Parkha and Choo-guñ or the nine mansions with forty-five gods residing in them. Thereafter from the virtue of these two, light and clearness came forth. All light substances flew upwards from the ocean of chaos, the thin, and attenuated things resting on the surface. When this separation took place the upper region or Heaven (or Thain) was produced. This was called the age of the formation of Heaven.

All heavy (Sanskrit *guru*), thick, unclean and ponderous substances sank to the bottom and formed the Earth called Tee. This is called the age of the Earth's closing. When Heaven and Earth were produced, the shining lustre of the former radiated from above and the bright effulgence of the latter rose upwards. These two, united together, produced "Man". This age was called the period of the formation of Man. Heaven, Earth and Man are possessed of three virtues or potential energies and three aims (designs). In works on mysticism a similar description is given. Heaven is said to have been anciently the father and Earth the mother. These two meeting together produced a sound, whence emanated Man. The Tibetan "Nam" or Chinese "Thain" means both Heaven and potential Energy. Tibetan "Sa" or Chinese "Tee" meaning Earth is purely matter that has productive powers.

PARKHA OR PAKWA OR MUDRĀ SYMBOLS

Tibetan	me	sa	chag	namkha	chhu	ri	shin	loñ
Chinese	li	khon	ta	khiñ	kham	kin	sin	son
English	fire	earth	iron	sky	water	hill	tree	wind.

CHINESE CHOGUN OR TIBETAN MEVAGU, ENGLISH NINE MANSIONS OF THE 45 GODS

Tibetan

chikar ñinag sumthiñ shijañ ñaser tugkar dunmar gyatkar gumar

English

white	black	blue	green	yellow	white	red	white	red
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No. of Mansions

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
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Again, the blue sky (or the middle illuminated atmosphere), and the Earth are both called the world. Vulgar people say that the Heaven is of dark blue colour and the Earth four sided. According to this system only nine heavens are men-

tioned without a word about their disposition. The Tibetans alone hold that there are nine strata of earth, one above another and nine heavens in regular succession. The great period counted from the beginning of the formation of Heaven, Earth and Man till their destruction is called Yi-yuan (Aenum). The measure of time in one Yi-yuan is equal to 129,600 human years of the Hindu system or "kalpa". After the destruction of Heaven, Earth and Man, Huntun and Theji will be convulsed to form a second chaos, from which there will be a renewed formation of the world.

Man is like the effulgence or the essence of all conglomerate matter. The Chinese do not recognize the theory of the four ways of birth, viz., from the egg and the womb and the manner of production of insects and plants. According to them, man was not born in the beginning but formed after the manner above described. The earliest writers do not appear to hold that the Heaven, formed after the dissolution of Chaos, possessed any visible appearance or magnitude, nor do they explain what will be the state of man after death. They neither enumerate the six classes of living beings, nor describe how they were produced. Latterly an eminent Chinese writer called Chou-tse, who was acquainted with the works of the Buddhists, wrote as follows :—After death, those portions of the mind and soul or the spiritual effulgence, obtained from the Father consisting of the Three Prāṇa-s (called Saṅhaon) fly towards the skies and became absorbed in śen (divinity), while the six parts (consisting of spiritual emanations) obtained from the mother (Lehupho) go down towards the earth, and mix with the spirit called "ku-hi" or the devil. All the Chinese authors attributed the happiness and sufferings of this world to The-han (Thain) or Heaven. The same theory prevails now all over China, the Heaven of the Chinese bearing some resemblance to the idea of the Supreme Being. According to them, pigs, sheep and other animals (as well as herbs and vegetables) being designed for human consumption by The-han, there is no harm in killing them. The Chinese adore many gods endowed with a visible shape among whom

Yoob Hwañ is well-known. They also worship a multitude of devils. They pay homage to dead bodies and, under a belief that the manes of the dead, though in Hades, can enjoy earthly pleasures, offer them meats and other edibles. Some of their customs are formed by affinity with those of their neighbours, the Laloš and To-u-se. There are also some customs which are evidently borrowed from the Buddhist creed.

KHUÑ-FU-TSE'S TEACHING COMPARED WITH THE DOCTRINES OF BUDDHISM

Khuñ-fu-tse in his work on the fundamental formulae called *Ta-she-hu*, while describing the manners and attributes of a "Teacher", says that liberal and enlightened accomplishments depend much upon clear judgment and understanding. The doing of good and contributing to ennable others depend first on one's own goodness and excellence. After the acquirement of knowledge it should be retained when it is comprehended it should be practised. When it is practised it will produce happiness; when it has imparted happiness, it can be utilized in teaching others; when it is communicated to others, knowledge is acquired. Thus by progressing further from the origin or beginning of learning, the ultimate object can be obtained. It is easy to understand the apparent meaning of his words which generally relate to the enumeration of moral virtues pertaining to this life, but a mystic and deeper meaning pervades them all, which may be interpreted thus :—

By enlightened knowledge he meant, the clear knowing of what the true and false ways (of religion) are, which he exhaustively illustrated in his chapter on the "duties of a Teacher". By ennobling others and leading them to good &c. he meant that, in order to be able to do good to all animate beings and to lead them to the real and true end of existence, one must first himself arrive at perfection. When he has first become good, others will follow him. Having himself obtained happiness, he will be able to conduct others

to happiness, who have not already obtained it. After reaching perfection himself and bringing others to it, right discrimination is attained when he will know the means of emancipating himself from transitory existence. Thus by progressing further and further he will see the beginning and end of all knowledge.

From this, it is evident that Khuñ-fu-tse's doctrines were akin to those of the omniscient Buddha. The maxim, "First mature yourself and after you have done so, try to mature others"—and others of a like nature—correspond with those contained in the Mahāyāna philosophies. Although the name of Buddha was unknown to Khuñ-fu-tse, yet in saying "gone to the extreme limit of knowledge" he must have meant an exalted state of being, closely resembling that of Buddha. Thus he approached very near to Buddhism in that twilight of civilization. The Chinese scholars who, by critically studying Khuñ-fu-tse's works became learned, are given the title of "Shyan-sheh". For having mastered the ancient classics, they are called wise men. Above all, when they have mastered the above mentioned five classical works and can elaborately elucidate the formulae and riddles, they are styled Sho-hu-tsha or Chwai-ywen. Thus by studying the classics they become learned, and then by acquiring a knowledge of the laws of their country, they become possessed of a knowledge of things. Having acquired both kinds of knowledge, they discharge the duties of the administration of their country. Such learning qualifies them for preferment in the government of their country. Learning alone opens to them the chances of reaching the highest offices in the land, including those of Governor and Minister of State. It is such literary distinctions that raise men in China to rank and position in utter disregard of birth or riches. All public offices in China are in fact open to competition.

Among the theological distinctions of China the three highest are Shyan-shen, equivalent to Tib. Ge-she=neophyte.

Sho-hu-tshani, equivalent Tib. Kahchu=monk who has observed the 10 commandments.

Chwañ-ywan, equivalent Tib. Rabchyam=superior monk.

As by proficiency in classical studies men are raised to governmentships in China, so in Tibet scholars of sacred literature are placed at the head of all religious institutions as prefects and high priests. But now-a-days the number of such erudite scholars is very small both in China and in Tibet. There are some Khun-fu-tsist saints who—being profoundly read in the great classical works of China, regardless of high preferment in government service, of commercial emoluments and of the pleasures and allurements of a worldly life,—betake themselves to asceticism and a life of seclusion in caverns of hills or in the solitudes of the wilderness. They take such students as are willing to accompany them, and do not care if they get none. These men are like Buddhist hermits who pass their days in solitude, devoting their lives to study, meditation and asceticism, but it must be admitted that there are few such in both countries. It appears from his writings that Khun-fu-tse had veneration for Buddha although Buddhism was not in existence in his age. In his works he neither remarked as in prophecy that Buddhism was good or bad. Chau-fu-tse, another writer of fame, evidently had some knowledge of Buddhism. In his writings he speaks in commendation of it rather than with any dislike. Subsequently one Cho.u-tse wrote blasphemously of Buddha. He was happy in his discussions on other matters but not in those on Buddha. He argued thus :—As the prosperity and happiness of a nation arise from the king's virtue, it is the king's first and prime duty to treat his subjects kindly. One's own body being derived from his parents, they are his great benefactors. Among his subjects those who are intelligent, industrious learned, able and powerful should help their king in the administration of the state and in war. The people generally should in return help him with tribute, revenue and presents. Again it will be the duty of all men to respect their parents besides supporting them and ministering to their wants; and

after their death to honour and pay homage to their manes and bones. —Thus his moral sayings are excellent, but at the end he rushes into blaming Buddha :—“Afterwards one Śākyā Muni, unmindful of his duties towards his king and parents and forgetful of their kindness, quitted his home and preached a religion of which selfishness is the leading feature, inasmuch as it enjoins on each man separation from the world and care for only his own food and clothing. This religion being introduced into China during the reign of the Emperor Hwan-min-yun-phiñ, many a family became destitute and extinct. The excellent creed of ancient times faded away as the new one progressed”. But, indeed, the religion of Buddha does not specify one's duties towards his parents and the king but aims at a wider good, —the good and well-being of all living beings of the world by freeing them from miseries and sorrows not only of this present life but also of all transitory existences. The aim of Buddhism is to know how to lead all living beings from misery and grief to a state of endless beatitude. So that there is a vast difference between the doctrines of Cho-u-tse and those of Buddha, the aim of the former being as small as the point of a needle, while that of the latter is as wide as the immeasurable Heavens. The writings of Cho-u-tse with the exception of some vilifying expressions towards Buddhism contains not a word of argument and refutation. They only contain some erroneous views, besides some commonplace principles. Since the introduction of Buddhism into China to the present day all the monarchs, with the exception of one or two, were devoted followers of the Buddhist faith, in consequence of which such insane observations as those of Cho-u-tse and other profane writers, have been as ineffectual in their aims as echoes returned by rocks. Nowadays there are some among the vulgar classes who obstinately follow these stupid writers who can show no reasons but bark like old dogs.

Chapter II

TO-U-SE OR THE BON (PON) RELIGION OF CHINA

The chief god or teacher of this most ancient religion of China was Lo-u-kyun. He is both god and man. As a god he is called by the name "Thai-shan Lo-u-kyun", which in Tibetan means the chief lord of goodness. He is said to have appeared when, according to the Chinese account, Heaven and Earth were first formed. Some writers identify him with the god Brahmā, which conjecture is accepted by many. In the beginning of the formation of the world the great Brahmā formed the superb mansion of the gods and thereafter the Earth, which accounts agree with those given of Thai-shan Lo-u-kyun as well as with the signification of his name "Brahmā built the world". Lo-u-kyun from that period to modern times is said to have sent forth 81 emanations among which the great teacher Buddha is counted as one, just as the Brahmanists reckon him (Buddha) as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu. The human Lo-u-kyun was an incarnation of the divine Thai-shan Lo-u-kyun. He is believed to have been contemporary with Khuñ-fu-tse. After a stay of 82 years within his mother's womb he was born when all his hair had turned grey, for which reason he was called by the nickname Lo-u-tse or the grey-haired old man. His followers addressed him by the name "Lo-u-kyun", the honorific equivalent for Lo-u-tse. Having obtained 72 chapters of what are called "heavenly scriptures", from a certain cavern of a hill, he became a religious teacher and preached the religion called "To-u-se". The famous Chaṅkyā Rinpoche Rolpai-dorje observed that this Lo-u-kyun is identical with Šen-rab of the Tibetan Bonpo. In Chinese a sage is called Shyan-shen of which the first syllable *shyan* by the phonetic laws of the Tibetan has been changed into *shyen*, whence Šen-rab. Ywon-shi-then-tsun, another celebrated teacher of the To-u-se religion, who appeared after the founder, is also considered as one of the 81 incarnations of Lo-u-kyun.

The pith of To-u-se doctrine as originating from Thai-shan Lo-u-kyun is similar to that of the religion of the god Brahmā. The To-u-se religion obtained its greatest diffusion under two of Lo-u-kyun's incarnation called Lo-u-tse and Ywon-shi-shen-tsun.

TO-U-SE RELIGIOUS THEORIES

The supreme being is immaterial (Arūpa), shapeless and invisible. He is self-created and matchless and most noble.⁷ In the abridged To-u-se scripture there are mentioned many gods possessing a shape, being the presiding deities of the five great mountains of China, of the four great rivers and of wind, rain and lighting, besides many powerful demons, for whom several ceremonies are prescribed. At the time of propitiation (ascetic performances) the To-u-se hermit is required to purify himself by washing his body, mouth and tongue, before beginning the mantra-s. Purification of the body by ablution is the principal feature of the religious rites of the To-u-ses. Having prepared for the ceremony by careful ablution &c., the devotee sits and regulates the exhaling and inhaling of his breath. He then extols and praises his own rambling "spirit", abstracts his mind, absorbs himself in deep meditation and chants the sacred mantra-s. In this way there grew eight saints who obtained the power of working miracles according to their will. They are called Pa-dud-shyan-shiñ or the eight saints. Another saint named Tañ-thwen-shi by skill in mysticism subdued many demons and evil spirits, all of whom he bound by solemn oaths to guard the Imperial Palace of Pekin. These demi-gods and demons even at the present day are found to stand sentry round it as of old. The descendants of Tañ-thwen, when they approach the palace walls, are politely received by these spirit sentinels. There are also accounts of many who acquired superhuman

7. The writer did not see the chief of the To-u-se scriptures for which reason he could not describe what views they had respecting the state of the soul and transmigration and emancipation.

powers such as that of performing miracles and illusions. There are mantra-s and incantations for performance of the lowest classes of samādhi. But notwithstanding all these, is not found in their scriptures the true way of emancipation, which can be obtained in Buddhism alone. Witchcraft, rites and ceremonies of mysticism and concatenation of time and circumstance, besides those which are used by gods and sages in the way of Tantrikism, are numerous among the To-u-ses. Among them there are two classes, the lay-people and the monks. The latter take vows of piety and discipline which they scrupulously observe.

AN EPISODE

During the reign of the great Han, a heretical Pañdit of Siṅgala-dvīpa called Mahā Brāhmaṇa arrived in China. He was warmly received by the king Yo-hu-chhañ, whom he exhorted to introduce his doctrine all over China. During this time the celebrated sage Hwashañ Dha-hu, who was versed in the Vedas of the Tīrthika-s, was present. He held long discourses in most of the heretical Śāstra-s of the Tīrthika-s with the Siṅgalese Pañdit. The controversy was conducted in the Sanskrit language, in which the Chinese sage debated with fluency and facility. The heretical Pañdit was defeated, which he publicly acknowledged by prostrating himself before the learned Hwashañ. The king greatly rejoiced at the Hwashañ's triumph over the Siṅgalese who was ignominiously expelled from the country. It was for this reason that Brahmanical doctrines obtained no footing in China. They are not known there even at the present day.

Chapter III

HO-U-SE OR HOI-HOI RELIGION OF CHINA.⁸

During the reign of the Thān dynasty, in one of the wars

8. This is a form of Muhammadanism

a large army was brought to China from the country of Tho-kar (Sita or Turkistan), which, unable to return to their homes, settled in China. Their descendants gradually multiplied and formed a large tribe who were known by the appellation of Housi or Hoi-Hoi. Again, the great warrior Jengis Khan after conquering the countries in the West when returning home brought with him a man of the country of Siyang, which is an island. This man, being versed in a kind of religion in which The-yau-nu the lord of Heaven was adored by all, taught the principles of the Hoi-Hoi, which became their adopted religion. Their descendants followed this religion and much of the Chinese religion came to be mixed with it, but the Chinese—though dwelling with them—did not become a whit connected with them in their religion and manners.

RELIGIOUS THEORIES OF THE HOI-HOI PEOPLE

They believe that all happiness and misery, good and evil, are the doings of The-han. The god The-han dwells in Heaven and in all things. The Hoi-Hoi people will never act contrary to the word of The-han. They do not take refuge with any worldly gods nor worship nor bow down before them. The souls of all the dead are collected by The-han, who ordains their second existence. They are to be re-born when this world will be re-created by him after destruction and within this interval the souls of the dead will remain mixed with the void space of Heaven. Some among them also believe that men are born very often, and that all their senses and faculties are lost at each break of existence. They send the spirits of all animals killed by those who belong to their faith to The-han, who takes charge of them. The spirits of those that are killed by others, who are not Hoi-Hoi, are damned. A Hoi-Hoi will not eat the flesh of an animal that has been slain by outsiders. If they remain unclean The-han becomes displeased. It is therefore of great importance to them to wash and keep aloof from unholy things. Besides these they

have no knowledge of the transitory state of existence, the misery, and the confinement and emancipation of the soul. They possess not the learning of the Tirthika-s, or the materialists, but resemble the Yavanas (Lalos). These wicked people certainly turn into pigs after their death for which reason they do not touch pork, the touch of which brings defilement, and the eating of which destroys their intellect and understanding.

LIFE AND LEGEND OF NAGARJUNA.¹

I. The great Buddhist reformer of ancient India and founder of the Mâdhyamika Philosophy.

When the dynasty of Aśoka waned and gave place to that of the illustrious Candra-s, Nāgārjuna was born in Central India—destined to play an important part in the religious history of Buddhism. According to the Tibetan historians, who wrote on the authority of Indian historians, he was born a century before Chandra Gupta's accession to the throne of Magadha. But to conform his age to the conjectural chronology of the occidental orientalists, one would be required to bring that date more than a century later than Alexander's invasion of India. Nāgārjuna's age must remain a positive uncertainty as long as we cannot get hold of the historical works of the Indian authors of the Buddhistic period. I am sanguine of being able to bring light much about Buddhistic history from the works about Nāgārjuna and other Indian philosophers. For the present I will only mention certain legendary accounts of Nāgārjuna which I have gathered from detached sources.

A rich Brâhmaṇa of the Vidarbha country to whom no son had been born for many years, once saw in a vision, that if he gave alms to, and entertained one hundred Brâhmaṇa-s, he could get a son. Accordingly he made offerings and prayers to the gods and entertained one hundred Brâhmaṇa-s. After ten months his wife gave birth to a son. The rich man invited learned astrologers to predict the fortune of his child, but they found that it would not live more than a week. In all other respects the child was calculated to be fortunate. In consequence of this sad intelligence, the minds of the parents were overwhelmed with extreme sorrow, and in their deep anxiety they urged the astrologers to discover some remedy to save the child. The astrologers assured them that if they observed some religious ceremonies and paid money for virtue's sake, read religious books, and entertained one hundred

Brāhmaṇa-s—the child would live seven months, and if they entertained one hundred Bhikṣu-s, it would live seven years, beyond which its life could not be prolonged by any means whatever. They accordingly underwent all sorts of ceremonies and observances calculated to prolong the child's life. When the seventh year was about to expire the parents were overwhelmed with grief.

To avoid the painful sight of their son's predicted death, they caused him to be removed to a certain solitary place in company with a few retainers. As the boy was passing his mournful days, one day the Mahābodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Khasarpaṇa visited him in disguise and advised him to go to the great monastery of Nalendra in Magadha as the surest means of escaping from the hands of death. He accordingly repaired to that famous Vihāra and arriving at the gate recited some gāthā-s. During that time the great sage Śrī Saraha Bhadra was the high priest of Nalendra. Hearing the gāthā the sage sent for the boy who was accordingly brought to his presence. Saraha asked him who he was and what brought him there, on which the boy gave a faithful account of his life and the melancholy aspect which overhung his fate and which he was painfully anxious to escape. The sage advised him to enter the holy order of monks, which act alone could deliver him from the hand of death. The boy took the vows of monkhood. Saraha then invited him to the worship and service of Buddha Aparimita Āyu and secured him his blessings. He required the boy to recite holy mantra-s and gāthā-s in honour of that Buddha from sunrise to sunset, within which time the fatal moment was predicted to arrive. The boy remained engaged in reading sacred books and reciting gāthā-s without falling asleep. The fatal moment passed. The messenger of death did not arrive or could not seize his victim. This happy news was conveyed to his parents whose hearts now overflowed with joy. The great high-priest Saraha then ordained him a

Bhikṣu of the Nalendra Vihāra. Here he prosecuted his religious studies under the tuition of that great sage. After a few years' service he obtained the subordinate office of head steward of the congregation. During the first part of the tenure of office, Nāgārjuna is said to have propitiated the goddess Caṇḍikā, by whose agency he succeeded in providing the great body of priests with the necessaries of life. The propitiation took some time, after which the goddess presented herself before him in obedience to his call. Enslaved as it were by the force of the propitiatory rites of Nāgārjuna, she submissively asked if she was to carry him to heaven. So saying she prepared to transport him thither. The sage not caring for his own happiness and ever mindful of his duties exclaimed : "Bold goddess, I will not go the celestial regions, I called you to help me in the propagation of Dharma on this earth". He then built a lofty stone temple in honour of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, in the court of which he pitched a thick pointed wooden club to fix the goddess, as it were, to her appointed terrestrial duties by the spell of mystic charms. He then addressed the goddess Caṇḍikā "O thou divine nymph, I bid thee to look to the supply of provisions for the great congregation. Thou shall not leave thy post till this club becomes reduced to dust". Caṇḍikā, accordingly, in the guise of a beautiful damsel began her homely work. During her temporary residence within the environs of the monastery, the chief cook of the congregation was enchanted with her personal charms. He spared no pains or means to win her favour, with the sensual object of enjoying her person. The maiden refused his addresses several times, but at the end consented on the condition that he should reduce the said club to dust. The deluded cook, not knowing the secret connected with the club, instantly burnt it to ashes. The maiden now set free from this bounden duty assumed her celestial shape radiant in angelic glory that was too strong for mortal eyes to bear, and ascended to her ethereal home, leaving the disappointed lover to stare at her with surprise. No sooner did this affair take place than Nāgārjuna, by dint

of his divine eyes, came to know of it. In order to retrieve the loss, he visited the courts of kings, princes, and nobles of Magadha and other Buddhist countries, from whom he obtained annuities and donations for the support of the great body of monks at Nalendra. He constructed a gigantic image of Mahākāla, whom he charged with the defence of his religion. During the latter part of his office, the country was visited by a famine in consequence of which the monks fell into great distress. The manager became very thoughtful about the terrible effects of the natural calamity. Distress and scarcity compelled the congregation more keenly to feel the necessity of money. The monks now determined to devise some means of acquiring treasures for the support of the famished congregation and Nāgārjuna accordingly started on an expedition to visit an island in the great ocean where lived a great saint well-versed in the art of alchemy. As the sea could not be crossed by any earthly means, he, by dint of his divine learning, got two leaves of an enchanted tree, by means of which he crossed the ocean and miraculously visited the island and presented himself before the sage who was greatly surprised to see a human being arrived at his abode deemed inaccessible to mortal beings. The sage earnestly inquired how he succeeded in achieving this wonder. Nāgārjuna replied respectfully stating to him the reasons of his visit and the circumstances that brought him thither. He also showed him one of the enchanted leaves, concealing the other in his mendicant's platter. He begged him to teach him the art of turning metals into gold. The sage consented to the proposal, but not liking to let the wonderful art be known in Jambudvipa, he determined to detain him for ever in the island by depriving him of the enchanted leaf. To effect this, he said that he could teach the art of alchemy provided Nāgārjuna consented to part with his leaf. Nāgārjuna consented, and was taught the art. When it was fully mastered he flew towards the Indian Continent by the help of the remaining leaf. Returning to Nalendra, by means of his easily acquired wealth he supported the whole body of monks.

By his religious practices he obtained siddhi (perfection). He refuted the theories of Śaṅkarācārya and imparted religious instruction to the monks of Nalendra. The Nāgas used to attend his sermons in the shape of young boys. They were so much interested in his teaching that they invited him to their abode where he spent three months. They entreated him to settle permanently in Nāga land (the nether world), which offer he declined on the ground of his being required to preach the sacred religion in Jambudvīpa and erect religious edifices for the good of living beings. At the time of his departure he promised to return there some time in future. He returned to Nalendra loaded with costly presents and gems of inestimable value and also with the religious volume called *Nāgasāhasrikā*. It was for this connection with the Nāgas that he obtained the name of Nāgārjuna.

In the country of Rādhā he erected many chapels and chaitya-s. On his way to Uttarakuru, in the city of Salama or Salammana, he met with a boy named Jetaka, by examining the marks of whose palms, he predicted that the boy would one day become a king. Arrived in Uttarakuru he went to bathe in a river after placing his raiments on a tree. As he was making his ablutions he saw a native taking his clothes away, at which he stopped him begging him not to remove his raiments. The native greatly wondered that Nāgārjuna should claim his clothes.

For Uttarakuru there is no distinction of individual property. There all property is common. In Uttarakuru Nāgārjuna stayed for three months and instructed the people in the sacred religion. On his return he found that the boy Jetaka had become a king as he had predicted. Jetaka, having great faith in his saintly character, presented him with costly treasures. Nāgārjuna returned to his country and erected many chaitya-s and temples, composed many works on science, medicine, astronomy and alchemy. After the death of Saraha Bhadra, the office of high priest fell upon Nāgārjuna, which he managed with great ability and indefatigable zeal. He matured the Mādhyamika philosophy which was only

conceived by his illustrious teacher Saraha.

Although he was the head of the now wide-spreading faction of the Mahāyāna school, yet he did not fail to exert himself for the well-being of the Śrāvaka-s or the followers of the Hinayāna school, by which name the Śrāvaka-s henceforth came to be distinguished. They equally enjoyed the bounties of his saintly character. He established discipline among his own congregation by expelling eight thousand monks whose character, nay purity of morals, was open to suspicion. By these acts he became the recognized head of the whole Buddhist church. About this time the germ of a third schism was manifested among his followers which eventually developed itself as the Yogācāra school.

During the presidency of Nāgārjuna, Vajrāsana (Buddha Gayā) was the headquarter of the Śrāvaka-s or the followers of the Hinayāna (little vehicle) school, but having fallen into decay, Nalendra in wealth and splendour eclipsed the seat of Buddha's hermitage. Once a wild elephant was found to damage the sacred Bodhi-druma (tree of wisdom), when Nāgārjuna caused two stone pillars to be erected for its support. This expedient answered well for several years, when, on the repetition of a similar injury, Nāgārjuna surrounded the great temple Mahāgandholā or the mansion of fragrance with a stone railing which he furnished with Vajragavākṣa or the precious niches, and outside of which he erected 108 smaller chapels. He also surrounded the great shrine of Śridhānyakaṭaka with railings.

Again, there having occurred an encroachment of the river Nairañjanā on the east of Vajrāsana which threatened the safety of the most holy spot, Nāgārjuna constructed seven huge images of Buddha hewn from rocks, and placed them facing the river in order to make the river, out of fear, change its devastating course. During this period, Mañja, king of Otisha (Orissa), with one thousand of his subjects embraced Buddhism. In the west, in the country of Malva in the city of Dhāra, king Bhojadeva with many hundreds of his subjects embraced Buddhism. These conversions are

attributed to the saintly influence of Nāgārjuna who wrote many volumes on the Mādhyamika philosophy, such as *Mūla Jñāna*, sixth assemblage of Vidyā, *Dharma-dhātu-stotra*, *Sūtra-saṅgraha*, &c. He erected many vihāra-s in Praṭāpeśa, Otisha, Bangala, and the country of Ikṣuvardhana. In the latter part of his life Nāgārjuna visited Dakṣīṇa (Southern India), where he did many things for the preservation of the Southern congregation (of Buddhists). In the country of Drāviḍa there lived two Brāhmaṇa-s of the name of Madhu and Supramadhu, the fame of whose opulence had startled even the kings and princes of the day. They held a series of discussions with Nāgārjuna on the four Vedas and the eighteen sciences of the Brāhmaṇa-s, in all of which they found themselves infinitely inferior to the Buddhist disputants. At the end they remarked that they really wondered how a Śramaṇa of Śākyā Śimha could possess such profound knowledge in the Vedas and Śāstra-s ! Nāgārjuna replied: It was very easy to master the Brahmanical Śāstra-s, but the sacred Dharma was too profound to be comprehended. He at last succeeded in converting them to Buddhism. Madhu having propitiated the goddess Sarasvatī, acquired great knowledge in the sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇa-s and Buddhists; Supramadhu by propitiating Lakṣmi, the goddess of wealth, obtained immense wealth with which he fed the Buddhist congregation. The former prepared many copies of *Prajñāpāramitā*. One hundred and fifty monks conducted religious service in their chapels. Thus the great teacher Nāgārjuna being eminently versed in all the classes of sciences and the Śāstra-s, filled Jambudvīpa with trophies of his pious deeds. His assiduity in asceticism, erudition in science, faith in Dharma, profundity in Yoga, acuteness in disputation, liberality in giving alms, constructing shrines and chaitya-s and furnishing of food to the congregations were all incomparable. He is given the appellation of a second Buddha; for he consolidated what Buddha had only commenced.

Nāgārjuna is said to have been a great friend of king De-chye (Śaṅkara) of Southern India, whom he had conver-

ted to Buddhism. Both the friends took vows of meeting a common lot, i.e., to live and die together. Nāgārjuna being a saint, no messenger of death ever ventured to approach him. The friends therefoae attained to unusual longevity, during which time the king witnessed successively the death of his many wives, children and grand-children. In his old age the king got a son who alone fortunately survived him. Once the mother of this prince (named in Tibetan Zon-nyu-den-chye, i.e., "the throat-cutting young prince") prepared a handsome robe which she desired him to wear. The prince did not use it, saying that he would use the robe when he became a king. The mother, with a deep sigh, exclaimed—"Son, how vain is that hope! Thinkest thou, my darling, that the king thy father will ever die. He has obtained immunity from death, which awaits all mortal beings but himself." The prince replied,—"Mother, must I not rule as a king since I am born as a prince? Live or die, I shall be a king". Seeing the son's resolution, the mother revealed to him the secret of her husband's death and said,—"Go and beg Nāgārjuna's head, and that shall quicken thy succession to the throne". The prince accordingly went off at once in search of Nāgārjuna and found him on the top of Śriparvata. Approaching the venerable Śramaṇa, he asked him to present him with his head. Nāgārjuna, knowing what brought him there, consented.

The prince tried several strokes of his sword to cut the saint's throat, but in vain. Nāgārjuna, seeing the ignorance of the prince, shewed him the secret which could effect the cutting off of his head, by saying,—"Prince, hundreds of such swords would not sever my head from the body, but go and bring that kuśa grass, which alone will effect it." In one of his former births Nāgārjuna is said to have killed a worm by cutting its throat with a kuśa grass. On account of the inevitable consequences of Karma in this life, that very worm was born as the prince who severed his head from his trunk with the kuśa grass. At the time of death Nāgārjuna told the prince that he would rise again in a future

time and his head would again be one with his body. As the prince was carrying off the head, it was snatched away by a Yakṣa who threw it to a distance of five miles, where the saint's remains turned to stone. It is mentioned in the Book of Prophecies that the head is now in the course of drawing every day nearer the trunk to effect its junction. Verily it may be said of Nāgārjuna that when the junction takes place, the city of Gayā will be blown up by Gayāsura or the demon of Gayā. It is said that Nāgārjuna will again appear in India, and live hundred years, to teach the sacred Dharma to men and gods.

DETACHED NOTICES OF THE DIFFERENT BUDDHIST SCHOOLS OF TIBET

All the Buddhist Tantras that were translated into Tibetan under the auspices of king Khri-sroṅ-sde-btsan and his successors till the advent of Pandit Smriti into Tibet, were designated gSañ sñag-sña-hgyur of rÑyiñ-mahī-rgyud or "the anciently translated Tantra-s". All the Tantras translated by Rinchhen-ssañpo and the generations of translators who followed him, were called gSañ-sñags-phyi-hgyur or Sar mahī-rgyud. For this reason it will be evident that the difference of rÑiñ-ma and gSarma schools lies in the Tantras only, while the Sūtras are the same in both.

The Tantras of the gSarma school are clearly analysed in the bKaḥ-hgyur, and the original of the iÑiñma Tantras composed in Āryāvata were rendered into Tibetan purely and faithfully. They are the following :

- (1) Rigs-paḥi-khu-vyug.
- (2) Tsal-chhen-dkrugs-kyi-rgyud.
- (3) Khyuñ-chhen-lding-vahi-rgyud.
- (4) rDo-la-gser-shun-rgyal-mahī-rgyud.
- (5) Mi-nule-rgyal-mtshan-gyi.
- (6) rTsemo-byuñ-rgyal-nam-mkhai-rgyalpo.
- (7) bDe-va-hphrul-bkod-rzogs-pa-spyi-chhins.
- (8) Byañ-chhub-sems-tig.
- (9) bDe-va-rab-hbyams.
- (10) Srog.gi.hkhorlo.
- (11) Thig-le-drug-pa-rzogs-pa-spyi-gchod.
- (12) Yid-bshin-norbu.
- (13) Kun-hdus-rig-pa.
- (14) rJe-btsun-dam pa.
- (15) dKon-byed-rgyalpo.
- (16) rMad-byuñ-rgyalpo.

These sixteen belong to the Semssde or Yoga class.

- (17) ལྷ གྲୋ དྲୋ ས୍ପୁଗ୍.
- (18) ཚ୍ୟା པ རୋ ମେଦପାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (19) ན མକ୍ହାହ ଇ དୋ ཡାନ୍ କ୍ୟି ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.

These three belong to the kLon-sde class.

- (20) ପାଦମା କ୍ୟା ଗ୍ୟାଲ ଗ୍ୟି ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (21) ପାଦମା ଦ୍ଵାନ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଳ.
- (22) ଯିଦ ବଶିନ ତୋଗ ଗ୍ୟି ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.

These three belong to the Man-ନାଗ or Upadeସା class.

The following are the Tantras which appertain to the ର୍ତ୍ସୋଗ୍ ପାଚହେନ ପୋ in general.

- (23) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ବ୍ୟା ରିତ୍ସନ ଲାସ ଲ୍ହଦାସ ପା ନାମ ମକ୍ହାହ ଚହି ଵାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (24) ଦେ ନିଦ ନାମସ ସୁ ବଲାନ୍ ପା ନାମ ମକ୍ହାହ ଚହେ ଫ୍ୟି ମାଇ.
- (25) ଦେ ନିଦ ଯୋନ୍ ର୍ତ୍ସୋଗ ଲ୍ହବରାସ ଲେନ ନାମ ମକ୍ହାହ ଚହେ ଫ୍ୟିମାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ ଯୋନ୍ ସୁ ସ୍ଗ୍ରୋ ବା.
- (26) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ଲ୍ହଫୋ ହ୍ୟୁର ମୋଡ ପା ଚହୋ ନିଦ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲପୋ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (27) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ଥିଗ ଲେ ନାଗ ଗ୍ଚିଗ ସ୍ତୋନ ପା ବ୍ୟୁନ ସେମ୍ ଥିଗ ଲେ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (28) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ରାନ୍ ବ୍ୟୁନ ଗ୍ୟି ଯେ ଶେ ସୁ ସ୍ତୋନ ପା ଯେ ଶେ ଥିଗ ଲେ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (29) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ଥାମସ ଚାଦ କ୍ୟି ର୍ତ୍ସା ବାର ବ୍ସଟାନ ପା ମାନ ନାଗ ଫରେନ ଵାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (30) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ କୁନ ଖ୍ୟାହ ଚହେନପୋ ବ୍ସଟାନ ପା ସାନ୍ ଵା ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ ପୋ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (31) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ରାନ୍ ରିଗ ତୁ ବ୍ସଟାନ ପା ଯେ ଶେ ଦାମ ପାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (32) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ କୁନ ତୁ ବସାନ ପୋ ରୋଲ ପାର ସ୍ତୋନ ପା ନାମ ମକ୍ହାହି ଦ୍ୟାନ୍ ରନାମ ଦାଗ ଗ୍ୟି ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (33) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ କୁନ ଗ୍ୟି ସନ୍ନିନ ପୋ ସ୍ତୋନ ପା ମାନ ନାଗ ସନ୍ନିନ ପୋ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (34) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ରାନ୍ ରିଗ ତୁ ଜିଦ ଚହେ ପା ସନ୍ନିନ ପୋ ଗ୍ସାନ ଵାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (35) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ କୁନ ଗ୍ୟି ର୍ତ୍ସା ଵା ନାମ ମକ୍ହାହ ଚହେ ର୍ତ୍ସା ଵା ଚାନ ଗ୍ୟି ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (36) ସେମ୍ ନିଦ ଗ୍ଚିଗ ତୁ ଲ୍ହଦୁସ ପା ନାଗ ଗ୍ଚିଗ ଦଗୋନ ପାଇ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.
- (37) ସେମ୍ ଜି ବଶିନ ପାର ବଶାଗ ପା ବସାମ ଗ୍ତାନ ଚହେ ପୋ ର୍ଗ୍ୟୁଦ.

- (38) Sems-ñid-rgyun-chhags-su-goms-pa-bsam-gtan-rgyun-chhags-kyi-rgyud.
- (39) Sems-ñid-thams-chad-du-gsuñ-pa-go-mañ-modi-rgyud.
- (40) Sems-ñid-dvañ-dañ-sbyar-va-chhe-dvañ-gi-rgyud.
- (41) Sems-ñid-dvañ-sgra-tshig-las-hdas-pa-nam-mkhañ-chhe-med-pai-rgyud.
- (42) Sems-ñid-gdod-mai-gnas-su-ston-pa-nam-mkhañ-chhe-gshi-hi-rgyud.
- (43) Sems-ñid-hod-gsal-du-bstan-pa-rinchhen-lhañ-vai-rgyud.
- (44) Sems-ñid-yontan-lhun-grub-tu-bstan-pa-rinchhen-phreñ-vai-rgyud.
- (45) Sems-ñid-khams-gsum-du-gsal-va-khams-gsum-sgrol-mai-rgyud.
- (46) Sems-ñid-spañ-blañ-las-hdas-pa-ston-pa-nas-pa-sñin-poi-rgyud.
- (47) Sems-ñid-hpho-hgyur-med-par-ston-pa-rdorje-gsañ-vai-rgyud.
- (48) Sems-ñid-yi-nas-sañs-rgyas-pa-ston-pa-ye-sañs-rgyas-par-ston-pai-rgyud.

Besides these 48 Tantras there are others which claim an indigenous growth. They are the following :

- (1) sKu-gsuñ-thugs-yon-tan-hphrin-las-kyi-rgyud.
- (2) rDorje-phur-pai-rgyud.
- (3) rTa-mgrin-gyi-rgyud.

Also—

gSer-yid-chan; gyu-yig-chan; duñ-yig-chan, &c. of modern origin, make up thirty-five in number. Six volumes of bKah-hgyur treating of Tantras are also claimed by the Ñiñmapas.

Besides the above-mentioned there are said to be other Tantras which being concealed by ancient sages, are not known at present.

All these Tantras are said to have been delivered by Dharma Kāya, Kuntu-ssañpo (Buddha Samantabhadra), Vajra Sattva, and Vajradhara &c.

The Ñiñmapas who all belong to the Yogācāra school of

ancient India observe Tantrik ceremonies exclusively. They have nine series of Jñāna, and speak of thirteen Bhūmis or stages of sainthood, while the Gelugpa (or the reformed sect) speak only of ten Bhūmis.

The Niñmapas have various ceremonies for propitiating their tutelary deities who are divided into two classes called Śi (the mild) and Phro (the wrathful) Yi-dam-kyi-Lha. They have various other kinds of rules and ways of asceticism. All the Niñma Tantras being based upon the Man-ñag scriptures, by their means numberless Indian and Tibetan (male and female) saints are said to have obtained the lowest class of perfection called "Thun-moñ-gi-dños-grub."

In ancient India Āchārya Kāma Vajra, Buddha Guhya, Śrī-siddha, Padma-sambhava, Vimala-mitra, &c., many Pañ-dits, many kings headed by Indra Bhūti, and many fairies were the most important personages; and in Tibet, King Sroñ-btsan sGampo, Khri-sroñ-sde-btsan, together with his 25 saintly subjects, 108 gter-ston or discoverers of sacred treasures, Rab-hbyams-pa the professor of kLoñ-scriptures, Dharma-gri the great translator, gYuñ-ston-rDorje-dpal, sLe-luñ-bshad-pai-rdorje, mGonpo-rdorje of Yu-thog, Ka-thog-rig-hzin-chhen-mo, rDor-brag Rig-hzin, Lha-btsun-chhenpo, and others. Many sages of the Sarma school also had turned Niñma religionists.

The Niñma sages, who had fully studied the above mentioned Tantras, had prepared commentaries on them and left their own observations in works written by them for the benefit of coming generations. It was the sage of Orgyan¹ who wrote volumes on the Zogs-chhen or Atiyoga sect of the Niñma school. It is mentioned in the histories of religion that that sage having written his profound interpretation of the Buddhist Tantras, in a kind of fairy language, unintelligible to man, had concealed these books securely under rocks and pillars for the benefit of future generations of Buddhists. He had also left predictions, respecting the name and date of birth of the man by whom those books were to be discovered.

1. Padma Sambhava.

After completing all that was necessary for the continuance of the Niñma school, he retired to the land of cannibals on the south-west. Afterwards in regular succession, as was predicted by him, a host of gTer-stons appeared and greatly contributed to the propagation of his school and the swelling of the Niñma scriptures, which altogether exceed five hundred volumes in number.

For these reasons it is believed that the rest of the Niñma school is extremely pure. But latterly some persons, calling themselves gTer-ston to gain notoriety and to be called sages, mixed many spurious and false theories with the ancient ones. Those pretended gTer-stons not agreeing among themselves, out of envy and enmity to each other, enjoined many obscene observances under the garb of religion. They gave out that the Tantras prescribed unrestrained libertinism as the easiest and surest mode of salvation. Female modesty was no consideration to them at all. For a time, by their influence, the teachings of the Sūtras (Amdo scriptures) were set aside in preference to those diabolical Tantras which were considered to be the direct means of Nirvāṇa. For this reason the monks gave up taking the vows of celibacy and moral discipline. The laws of Dulva were entirely neglected. Particularly after Lāñ-darma's persecution of the Buddhists of Tibet, some Tāntriks, in the heat of debauchery and drunkenness, had composed many spurious Tantras, putting into writing the ravings of their intoxicated brains. Again during the revival of Buddhism, when the Sarma system of schools was about to be diffused in Tibet, certain Tāntriks composed several works in which many strange elements were introduced. In them the Thiñ-rje-chhem-po of the rNiñmapas, the Brahma Tantras of the Brāhmaṇas, the mysticism of the Bonpo were mixed together, in consequence of which those works no longer resembled the ancient works on Tantras. From these sprung the ceremonies of Khregschhod and Munkhrid &c. Those who practised the magical sorceries founded on them were notorious for the arrogance and wicked impositions. When their wickedness was exposed by the great

Reformer, the two *Nīñma* Lamas, named Pesna Liñpa and Śākyamchhog l'Dan, jointly conspiring against him, gave out to the world that Tsōnkhapa was a real demon incarnate, whose sworn mission was the working of the downfall of Buddhism in Tibet.

The same two Lamas also wrote a volume of about 500 leaves about the reformations, charging Tsōnkhapa with many kinds of blasphemies. They even went so far as to say that the crown which he put on the image of Jovo (Lord) Śākyamuni, was riveted on its head with coppernails, that the flowers that were daily showered on it fell owing to the sorceries as so many thorns. They predicted that on account of these impious acts, the Buddhist religion was destined to collapse after 500 years from that date, and that shortly the sun, moon and stars would fall a hundred (Tibetan) miles below their ordinary paths. To this work they gave sanctity by declaring that it was discovered to be a book of ancient prophecy, classed under *Nīñma* Terma scripture. Many right-thinking and honest *Nīñma* Lamas question the validity of this work, although the uninformed and the ignorant *Nīñma* followers believe in its predictions and do not hesitate to slander the Gelugpa school. The Gelugpa writers successfully refuted all the charges contained in that work and exposed the malice of its blasphemous authors.

From that time, on account of the doctrinal differences between the *Nīñma* and Sarma schools, especially between the former and the reformed school (Gelugpa), disputes and controversies commenced. Most of the eminent writers of Tibet are of opinion that the great body of *Nīñma* scriptures were alloyed with strange and spurious writings, and there are very few books which have any pretensions to originality or antiquity. Among those which are said to be very pure may be classed the following :

- (1) dKon-mchhog-spyi-hdus, 6 vols.
- (2) mKhaḥ-hgro Nīñ-thig.
- (3) Lho-gter.
- (4) Bima sNīñ-thig.

- (5) kLoṇ-chhen-sÑiṇ-thig.
- (6) gYu-thog-sÑiṇ-thig.
- (7) Byaṇ-gter-gyi-chhos-skor.
- (8) gTer-bdag-gliṇ-paḥi-chhos-skor.
- (9) Nam-chhos-kyi-skor.
- (10) rGyal-va-sNa-vahi-rñiṇ-vahi-chhos-kyi-skor.
- (11) rTa-mgrin-chhos-skor &c., and many others.

The study of the above-mentioned books is believed to be very efficacious to ascetics, in obtaining sainthood. In profundity of import these books are unrivalled by other religious works of the same school. Among the best and purest of Ñiṇma monasteries are (1) sMin-grol gLiṇ, (2) rDorjebrag, (3) Kham-ka-thog, (4) Śi-chhen-rtsogs-chhen, &c. and many others of less fame. In these monasteries, moral discipline and religious strictness are greatly observed, in consequence of which there resident monks are said to have great pretensions to purity of life.

The Ñiṇma schools have voluminous works called Upadeśa-s on the subtlety of rites.

In the Sarma or modern school are included the following sects, bKaḥ-gDams-pa, bKaḥ-brGyud-pa, Sakya-pa, Karma-pa Jonaṇ-pa, dGelugpa, &c. The principal theories and rules of these sects are :

- (1) Constant meditation about the attainment of Bodhisattvahood (sainthood).
- (2) Uninterrupted attention to compassion towards all living beings.
- (3) Reverence and adoration to the great and precious Holy Being, called dKon-mchhog.
- (4) The renouncing of worldly enjoyments and business, and residence in solitude to limit the sphere of doing and desires.
- (5) The external observance and conduct of life to accord with the laws of Dulva (Vinaya) teachings.
- (6) Internally, the full comprehension of the metaphysical portion of the Tantras called bskyed-rim and rtsogs-rim.
- (7) The practice of the meditative science or yoga, holding

- the theories of universal illusiveness and voidity (Śūnyatā).
- (8) The comprehension of the essence of the Mādhyamika philosophy by which the attainment of sainthood is ensured.

bKAH-gDAMS-PA SECT.

This sect was founded by the great Indian Pañdit Dipamkara Śrī-jñāna (Jova-rje-dPal-l丹 Atiśa of the Tibetans). There are records of over three thousand Lamas of eminence and learning in the annals of this sect. Among them hBrom-ston-rgyal-vai-hbyun-gnas, Potopa, the philosophers, and sPyan-mñah-va, &c. were celebrated.

bKAH-brGYUD-PA SECT.

Of this sect, the sages rDorje-hchhañ-chhen, Telopa, Nāropa, Marpa, Mela-dvags-po Lha-rje, &c. were the successive presidents. Marpa having obtained a good deal of religious instruction from Atiśa, mixed the bKah-brgyud theories with those of the bKah-gdams sect.

The Darśana of this sect is called Mahā-mudrā (Phyag-rgya-chhen-po). This is divided into two classes of Mahā-mudrā, the latter of which they reject. On the whole the significations of the Mahāmudrā resemble those of the Śūnyatā theories.

Its meditative science is similar to those of the Prasaṅga Mādhyamika school of ancient India.

The chief Ye-dam or tutelary deities of this sect are the Lord of Guhya Samāja-bde-mchhog (Sambhara) and rDorje-phagmo, &c.

Its guiding instructions called Man-nag were drawn up by the sage Nāropa, for which they are called Nāro-chhos-drug. Anciently this sect possessed the greater number of sages, ascetics and scholars, many of whom had obtained sainthood. At one time its monks numbered several hundreds of

thousands. The Lamas of this sect pay more attention now to the meditative science, and less to Vyakarana and other branches of sacred literature. Although at one time bKaḥ-brgyud-pa Lamas were eminently famous for their knowledge of metaphysics and Darśana, yet now-a-days there are not many who can fairly claim the distinction of sages. In fact they more resemble the shadows of their predecessors. They generally mix with the Nīnma Lamas in perverse and forbidden conduct, such as female company, drinking intoxicating liquors, &c.

SAKYA SECT

This sect derives its name from the name of the place of its origin. It is an offshoot of the bKaḥ-brgyud-pa sect in a reformed state.

The tutelary deities, generally invoked by the followers of this sect, are Kye-rdorje (Hevajra), Phyagna-rdorje (Vajra Pāṇi) &c.

That rotatory existence and emancipation from it are inseparable, is its chief theory. Leading instructions are taken from the works called sGer-chhos-bchug-sum. The Lamas of this sect are tolerably learned in sacred literature. The ancient monks of this sect are said to have obtained sainthood by propitiating the fairy Naro-mkhaḥ-sphyod-ma. The monks in general are known to be little strict in the observance of the laws of Dulva. They drink, and mix and live with women.

GELUGPA SCHOOL

This is at present the dominant school of the Buddhists in Tibet. It was founded by the celebrated reformer Tsöṅ-khapa and obtained great diffusion under his chief disciples, one hundred and fifty in number, among whom the Regent Dharma

Rinchhen, the sage Geleg-palssai, Gedundub &c., were most eminent. Tson-khapa found that by the eccentricities of the Tantrik (*Nīñma*), Buddhism in Tibet had greatly degenerated, so much so that it could hardly claim the name of Buddhism at all. Its divergence from the tenets of Buddha was too wide to enable any student of Buddhism to reconcile it with any sort of Buddhism that then prevailed in the north. With great pains he succeeded in organizing a reformation which struck the older schools by the root. His works on the different branches of the sacred literature were in accordance with the Kahgyur and Tangyur.

The Lamas and monks of his school were very accomplished in tenets, the observance of ceremonies and the science of meditation, their moral discipline, behaviour and attention to study were exemplary. They were also experts in argumentative philosophy. Under Tson-khapa's direction they made new annotations on the important portions of Kahgyur and Tangyur and the various works on Tantras. The great monasteries of Tibet, Sera, Dapun, Gehdan, Taśilhunpo, and those of Kham, Amdo, Mongolia and China—altogether numbering more than one thousand—adopted the reformed creed. Under his disciples and their disciples and their disciples within a few years, more than 10,000 monasteries adopted the reformed tenets. The largest of these monasteries contained 10,000 monks, the smallest respectable ones not less than 800. In these Gelugpa monasteries, the study of Tantras, Mantras, Kālacakra, medicine, &c. was greatly encouraged. The Gelugpa religious ceremonies were conducted according to the prescribed directions of the sacred books. Such extraordinary success as attended Tson-khapa's reformation was not known—not to speak of Tibet—in the annals of Ancient India since the Nirvāṇa of Buddha.

The Emperor of China, Princes of Mongolia and other great patrons of Buddhism paid tribute to his honour. Tson-khapa is said to have appointed under a solemn covenant a great number of gods, demons, demi-gods and fairies to defend the sacred religion. In the other sects, when an

enemy invaded the sacred precincts, the monks generally used to escape by flight. Some of these sometimes killed their enemies by propitiating demons and evil spirits, and by the practice of sorceries and the black art. But such proceedings being contrary to the precepts of Buddha, the cursed perpetrators eventually had to go to hell.

The followers of the Sakya sect and the Gelugpas were free from the guilt of such infernal practices.

THE MONASTERIES OF TIBET

Compiled from *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ* and other Tibetan historical works

INTRODUCTION

Tibet is the land of monasteries. Her history chiefly comprises records of the establishment of monasteries and temples and their endowments by the State, chiefs and nobles of the country, commencing from the middle of the 7th Century A.D. to the 18th Century.

There are eighteen different Buddhist sects, out of which four are widely distributed all over higher Asia including Tibet, Mongolia and Western China. Of these four sects, three—viz., Sakya, Duk-pa and Nīn-ma—have the red-cap, which they use during religious services only, to distinguish them from the remaining 15 sects. The fourth which is the reformed sect and therefore the purest of all, has become dominant since the middle of the 17th Century. Its monks use the yellow-cap. The Dalai Lama is the head of this Church.

In the official register at Lhasa, in 1882, the total number of monasteries belonging to the Yellow-cap Chruch was 1026 with 491,242 monks. Out of this number, 281 monasteries belonged to the provinces of U and Tsang which constitute Tibet proper, 150 to the provinces of Nyan, Lhobrag and Kong-po; 27 to Upper Kham; 154 to Lower Kham and 414 to Ulterior Tibet which is called Poi-chen or greater Tibet. In this list village-monasteries and Maṇi-lha-khang (prayer-wheel temples) have not been entered.

The number of monasteries belonging to the three Red-cap sects, is a little more than the total of the Yellow-cap Church institutions. This would bring the total of the monasteries of all the 18 sects to over 2,500 and that of the monks to about 760,000.

In Tibet every third boy in a family, as a rule, is sent to the monastery, in consequence of which the male popu-

lation of the country may be roughly estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 millions.

The Yellow-cap Church Lamas take the vow of celibacy, which circumstance precludes them from keeping female company. But many among them while residing abroad seldom conform themselves to monastic discipline.

The miserable pittance which the monks of even the State-supported monasteries get for their subsistence, hardly exceeds three *Tanka* i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ Re. a month. Owing to this, about one-fifth of the monks in a monastery generally turn into traders. Many among them become mendicant priests and roam over the country in quest of the necessaries of life. These are called *Tāpā* or monastery-boys. The agricultural population often regard them with dread for their irregular habits of life and clamouring for alms.

There are few convents in Tibet and the number of nuns (*Tsunmo*) in them is very small. While the largest monastery contains 10,000 monks, the largest convent can hardly count 100 nuns for its inmates. The nuns of Tibet have the reputation of being pure, as only the most religiously disposed among the fair sex betake themselves to monastic life. The Red-cap Lamas generally keep concubines called *Ani* who often dress as nuns.

Marriage being the exclusive privilege of the eldest brother in a landholder's family, the younger brothers seldom care to share the bed of the house-wife with him which the custom of the country allows. They generally keep concubines. It is true that there is marriage among the rich cultivators and herdsmen, but the majority of the common people make family in wedlock either singly or jointly. Thus, side by side with polyandry, concubinage has become a popular institution in Tibet. Out of 100, 99 people keep concubines. This explains the question as to what becomes of the majority of the female population who remain unmarried. The Tibetan male is generally less jealous than the Tibetan female which circumstance has given rise to the formation of that much despised relationship called *Nyamda-pun*, i.e., brotherhood

in wedlock versus brotherhood in matrimony which is polyandry pure and simple.

RA-DENG
(*Ra-sgren*)

The monastery of Ra-deng was founded by Dom-ton-pa in the year 1056 A.D. Many predictions were on record in some of the sacred books such as *Mañjuśrī Mūla Tantra*, *Phalpo-che*, *Do-ñin-je Padma Karpo*, etc, as to the rise and progress of a great school and monastery in the centre of Tibet. Conformably to them, Dom-ton-pa founded Ra-deng in one of the finest spots of U, rich in various kinds of alpine vegetation. The vally of Ra-deng is clad in thick forests of firs, cedars, cypresses, and junipers. It abounds in numerous brooks and fountains, which yield very good water. Nine mountains, the culminating cliffs of which have various slopes, form the back-ground of this famed old momastery. Many kinds of medicinal plants grow on these hills.

At this charming place which was possessed of many auspicious signs essential to the site of sacred Buddhist institution, Dom-ton-pa built the monastery of Khyungo-chan, or "Eagle's head", in the vicinity of the hill of Senge-tag (lion's rock). The valleys which open to the east and west of Ra-deng have spacious plateaus rich with verdure. On account of the tall and horn-like shape of the trees growing in this place, the monastery of Khyungo-chan was called Ra-deng from (*rwa*, 'a horn,' and *sgren*, 'standing erect.') The large silver tomb which contains Atisa's remains is the most remarkable of all the sacred objects of Ra-deng. The central chapel of the monastery contains a complete set of the images of the Tantrik pantheon, in which Buddha is observing the triple vows, Maitreya watching the course of the world, and the four gods of medicine (Manlha) looking to the four quarters as in life. Outside the cupola of the great Chorten was constructed the mansion of the chief 'Tantrik deity of Guhya Samāja (the mystic commune) with a number of mystical

gods, all in relief. When the erection of the monastery with the images was completed, Dom-ton-pa is said to have propitiated the god of the Tuṣita heaven to enable him to have his monastery consecrated by his spiritual father. Accordingly, Atīśa, who was then seated on the right of Maitreya, the coming Buddha, showered flowers toward Ra-deng from Tuṣita. Dom-ton-pa presided over the monastery for eight years.

At Ra-deng there is a golden image of Milaras-pa, the famous Buddhist saint. It is said that the Jungar Mongolian Chief, who persecuted the Nīn-ma Buddhists in 1716, on his way to Lhasa visited Ra-deng, and was much astonished when he was told that the hair on the head of the saint's image was not artificial. In the library of Ra-deng there were many rare ancient Sanskrit works kept sealed by the Government of Lhasa. Ra-deng was the chief seat of the first and the earliest Buddhist hierarchy of Tibet and belonged to the Kahdam-pa School.

THE MONASTERY OF GAH-DAN (*dGa'-ldan-rnam-par-rg'yal-ba'i-glin*)

Tsoṅ-khapa, the great Buddhist reformer of Tibet, in fulfilment of a certain prophecy of Buddha, in the year 1408 A.D., established the grand annual prayer congregation of Lhasa, called the Mon-lam-chen-po. After making offerings to the gods he prayed for the welfare of all living beings. In the autumn of the same year he examined the auspicious signs regarding the suitability of a plot of land situated on the hill of Dok-poiri (*sBrog-po'i-ri*) with a view to erect on it a great monastery. In the rocks of that hill he observed many religious symbols such as the sacred mystic syllables "*Om mani-padme hum*, *om vajra pāṇi hum*", etc., and seeing that there was some scarcity of water, he touched with his hand the water of a little fountain that trickled down. On further examination the fountain proved to be the source of a streamlet. In the midst of the rocks of Dok-poiri he found

several fossil conch-shells, one of which having its whorls from right to left was believed to have been used by the Buddha himself. From a rock-cavern in the neighbourhood he unearthed a mask believed to have been used by the Lamas during King Thi-sron-deu-tsang's time. It had the miraculous power of dispelling all the evil spirits of the place. On this auspicious place Tsöñ-khapa laid the foundation of the world-renowned monastery of Gah-dan. Within the remaining months of the year the Dukhang-uma (central congregational hall), seven cells for the residence of monks and a building for the high-priest's residence were finished. As soon as the monastery approached completion, presents of gold, silver, precious stones, and other articles from the pious flowed to it from different quarters. The number of monks increased every year. Tsöñ-khapa furnished the monastery with numerous books, objects and symbols. In the 64th year of his age he erected the Tsan-khan, the principal chapel in the monastery. This was followed by the Gon-khan chapel of the hideous looking gods of mysticism. Then were constructed the Khyamra or courtyard, and overhanging it all round, porticos resting on 70 pillars. The Tsan-khan or chapel of worship was provided with a large image of the Buddha, three superb mansions of the gods of the Tuṣita heaven made of precious stones, with Bhairava Mañjuśrī, the deities presiding over the destinies of all living beings of the world and with the huge images of the four Lokapāla-s. He also enriched the library with many rare books of Buddhism. At Gah dan there are now only two colleges for religious instruction to 3,300 monks, viz :

- (1) Car-tse Tva-tshang, where metaphysics are taught.
- (2) Chyang-tse, where esoteric Buddhism and mysticism are taught.

Later on, during the ministry of Tsöñ-khapa's illustrious successors, the monastery became converted into a grand university both for secular and religious education.

In the temples erected by Gyal-tshab Drama Rinchen and Dul-dzin the most remarkable object is the Nam-gyal Chorten,

which contains the remains and personal properties of the great reformer. A satin tent hangs over the altar containing the urn. During the ministry of Gedun Phun-tshog Lozang Tanzing, Tashi Badur the great Khan of Kokonar covered the silver tomb of Tsöñ-khapa with thin plates of gold. (The gold used there is said to have been one year's revenue derived from Kham). On the right and left of this central tomb-chorten there are the tombs of the disciples and the illustrious successors of the founder. In some of them are placed their respective statues.

In the chapel, called Serdan Tsangkhang (golden pure hall) at the centre of the great temple called Yang-pa-chan, there are the images of Buddha, Maitreya and Amitābha. In the Gomkhang the life size statues of Kushi Khan and his generals are placed in martial attitude. Besides these, stand several mythological warriors all in divers frightful attitudes. In the chapel called Dubchoi Tsang-khang the remarkable thing is the image of Śamvara, the chief of the Tantrik deities, with the Śakti (female energy) in his clasp.

In the Lama-khang a statute of Tsöñ-khapa, his works in original, painted tapestries, a set of Kahgyur scriptures written in gold, etc. are among the remarkable articles. This was Tsöñ-khapa's study in his old age. There are also several chortens and an image of Vajra Bhairava, the fearful defender of Buddhism. In the Sarma-khang, erected by Lodoi Choikyong, there are the images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas made of gold, sandal-wood, medicinal minerals, besides numerous chortens, tapestries, pictures, etc. In the De Ceg Lhakhang, i. e. the temple of the Tathāgata, there are eight silver chortens consecrated to the eight Buddhas. The most prominent of the images of the temple called Chyamkhang is that of Maitreya, the future Buddha, which is said to have come flying from Magadha. Beside it, stand in row the images of several Bodhisattva-s. In the Zim-khang the private residence of Tsöñ-khapa, which contains the chair

of the great reformer, is to be seen the curious image of the hero Khanda Kapāla with a halo of variegated colours round his head. In the ascetical cell called Ḥodsalphug (the cavern of light) where Tsōn-khapa used to perform ascetical meditation, the images of the terrific Vajrapāṇi and his retinue attract the attention of the pligrims. In the interior of the hall of priestly assembly called Dukhang-karpo, the Serthi (the golden chair, i. e., the hierarchical throne) and the statue of Tsōn-khapa impress the faithful pilgrim with awe and reverence. Phola Jung Wang provided this temple with a gilt dome built after the Chinese style and deposited in it a set of 108 volumes of the Kahgyur scriptures written in gold. In the Nai-choikhang a tooth of the saintly reformer, called Tsem Ḥodzer-ma (the lustrous tooth) and the image of the thousand armed Avalokiteśvara, whose eleven heads look with eyes of mercy on all living beings of the world, are remarkable.

In the college of Chyang-tse, there is an elephant illustrative of one of Buddha's former births with a number of devout followers, all made of horn. There are also some representations of sainted fairies called Kha'-doma, and a set of Tantrik bone ornaments including strings of beads, earrings, chains, amulets, etc., all made of human bones. All these are said to have once been used by the Indian saint Nāropa. Nāropa's mitre-shaped crown and his Tshebum (pot of longevity) containing consecrated water which never dries, are looked upon by devout pilgrims as wonderful objects of veneration. In the Gonkhang of this college there are terrific messengers and guards. In the Parkhang (printing house) are to be seen Tsōn-khapa's voluminous works—all engraved on wooden blocks which are piled up in different rooms from which impressions can be had on daphne paper, at any time, at a small cost. In the temple of Yangpa-chan there are the scenes of Buddha's triumph over Māra (the evil one) and his legions. In the outer passage of circumambulation called Chyi-kor, pilgrims are shewn many self-existent (Rang-jung) sacred letters, figures and fountain heads,

finger-marks and footprints on rocks, and outside of this passage there is a lofty seat consecrated to the mountain god of Ma-chen Pomra, who is said to have patronised Tsōn-kha-pa in his arduous works. The successors of Tsōn-kha-pa, who are appointed by election from among the most learned and pious Lamas of ordinary birth, occupy the hierarchical throne called Serthi. They are, therefore, called Gahdan Thi-pa, i. e. President or Chairman of Gahdan. Men of learning generally resort to Gahdan. Its monks, for the excellent education they get in the university, always rise to distinction in the public service both secular and religious. All sections and classes of men are represented at Gahdan.

The monastery of Sangkhar which contains 200 monks at Dachan, north of Lhasa, was founded by Tsōn-kha-pa under the auspices of a rich noble named Rinchen Shun-pa of Tagkar. It is under the supervision of the Gahdan Thi-pa.

THE MONASTERY OF SERA (*Se-ra-theg-chen-glin*)

The monastery of Sera (literally, wild rose) was founded by Cham-chen-choije Cakya Yeces in 1418, the year of Tsōn-kha-pa's death.

The Governor Nehu-pa who patronised Tsōn-kha-pa and his disciples, frequently used to invite them to Sera-tse, a retired hermitage on the top of the hill overhanging Sera. On these occasions Choije devotedly served the reformer, in consequence of which Tsōn-kha-pa predicted a great future for a monastery which Choije would found in that neighbourhood. A saintly Lama while sitting in meditation, cast his eyes on a spot lower down the hermitage which was filled with wild rose plants in blossom. He predicted that some day there would be a monastery there. Emperor Yunglo of the Taming dynasty, had sent an invitation to Tsōn-kha-pa to visit Peking; but the great reformer, finding Choije's time

fully occupied with the more important work of religious reformation, sent Cakya Yeces as his representative. Yunglo did honour to the Yellow-cap Church by showing every consideration to this disciple of the reformer on his arrival at Peking, where Choije's first act was to bring about the recovery of the Emperor from a serious illness by the efficacy of his religious services. The temple of Maitreya, then recently built by the Emperor, was placed in his charge and he was given the name of Chyam-chen Choije. Under the Imperial auspices Choije founded the monastery of Hwang-sze (Yellow-temple) in one of the imperial garden of Peking situated a few miles to its north. For diffusing the reformed creed of Tsōn-khapa in China he had taken with him several of Tsōn-khapa's works and a set of block-print Kahgyur scriptures. After converting the Lamas of Peking to the reformed Yellow-cap Church he returned to Tibet. On the way he paid his reverence to Tsōn-khapa making rich presents to him. Subsequently, he founded the monastery of Sera Theg-chen-ling, which now contains 5,500 monks and exercises much influence in the secular and religious administration of the country.

He established a university in it with four Tva-tshang or colleges. Of these Gya Tva-tshang belonged to the upper division of Sera and the remaining three, i.e., Thoisam, Norpuiling, Chyipa Khamang Tva-tshang, and Nag-pa Tva-tshang belonged to Sera (smad) i.e., lower division of Sera. In the middle of the eighteenth century two of the colleges were established. It still continues to be a favourite resort of learned men of Tibet and Mongolia. The monks of Sera belong to respectable families of Tibet proper, Amdo, Kham, Nyagrung, Mongolia and Western China.

There are in the Dukhang (grand hall of congregation) the images of :

1. Buddha vanquishing Māra, the evil one, and a host of demons.
2. The sixteen Sthavira (Neh-tan Chu-rug) brought from China.

3. Several life-like images constructed by the famous artist Nehu Chang-wa.

In the Gonkhang (the temple assigned to the Tantrik deities) there are :

1. The image of the six-armed Bhairava, constructed by Leggyan of Shwan.
2. Gon-po Choigyal with four arms.
3. The goddess Paldan Lhama (Kāli) on horseback, her legs being tied by a chain, probably as a punishment for her wicked conduct.

In the front wall there are painted representations of the invasion of U by the Tsai army and their defeat by the Tartars in 1643, the scenes of War, and the images of fearful spirits, such as Gon-po De-mar, the genies (Chyarog-dong-chan, he with a raven's head), etc. On the western wall are painted the likenesses of the successive high priests of Sera etc.

In the western corner of the upper congregation hall (Dukhang Gong-ma), are the images of Amitābha Buddha, the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara and the four-armed Gon-po, Maitreya made of silver, the Bodhisattva (Śākyā) as a citizen, and the eight spiritual sons of Buddha and also the Kahgyur and Tangyur collections, all written in gold and silver.

In the temple of Chyam-chen Shal-reh Lhakhang, the image of Atiśa with a Cintāmaṇi wishing-gem in his hand is conspicuous.

In the Go-chye-khang there are the images of Buddha and a silver chorten. In the further niche of the Dukhang there is a golden image of the coming Buddha. In the front hall of the Dukhang there are the Dharma Pālas. The most remarkable object in the passage of circumambulation round the monastery is a small Caitya (said to be one of the 84,000 caitya-s constructed by Emperor Aśoka) which was brought from Magadha. There is also a Tantrik image of Hayagrīva with the goddess Vajra Varāhi in his clasp.

THE MONASTERY OF DAPUNG

(*dPal-l丹-'bras-spuns-phyogs-thams-cad-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba*)

Dapung, the great monastery of lower U, now the premier monastery of Tibet, was founded by Jam-yang Choije in the year Fire-Monkey, i. e. 1415 A. D. with 5,000 monks. His father Gah-wa Nor-shon, on account of his wealth, was believed to have been an incarnation of Vaiśravaṇa, the god of riches. Jam-yang was born at Samye, and admitted into the sacred order at Tse-thang (Chethang). He received his first lessons in sacred literature from the abbots of Sangphu. At Gahdan, Tsöñ-khapa and his principal disciples ordained him with the final vows of the order of Bhikṣu. At Tashi Dokha, Tsöñ-khapa advised Jam-yang and his friend Namkha Zangpo, the Governor of Nahu Dsong, to found a monastery after the model of the ancient monastery of Śrī-dhānya-kāṭaka of Southern India. One night, while Jam-yang was asleep in the fort of Nahu Dsong he saw in a dream the god Nam-na Karpo telling him that if he founded a monastery at Darbag-thang, situated in front of the hill called Gephel Rivo-che, he could get 5,000 monks to reside and study in it. Accordingly, he visited Dar-bag and Rivo-che. There he saw several fountains and small lakes called "the lakes of fortune". On another occasion, while seated on the margin of a lake situated on the top of Langchen-ri, Tsöñ-khapa mentioned to him that that was "the lake of learning." Another night he dreamt that several men were assembled on a river's edge in order to cross it. Jam-yang at once swam to the opposite bank and threw a bridge across to enable others to follow him. After several such curious dreams he determined to found the monastery of Dapung. Tsöñ-khapa supplied him with the necessary plan after the model of Śrīdhānya-kāṭaka, and his friend the Governor of Nahu Dsong, furnished him with funds; and through the joint exertions of Jam-yang and his patron, Dapung was founded. On account of the Governor's help the rich nobles of Tibet gave endowments of lands to it and sent their boys for religious

education there. Their example was followed by the merchants and other land-holders, in consequence of which it soon became a favourite institution of aristocracy of Tibet. Jam-yang established eight colleges for teaching the different branches of sacred and secular learning. In course of time the monastery became the principal seat of learning, and learned and wise men flocked to it from the different parts of the country. In discipline, moral culture and purity of life, the monks of Dapung excelled the monks of all other similar institutions in Tibet. It soon claimed a university with seven colleges for the study of the different branches of sacred literature including metaphysics, logic, medicine, and one for that of profane literature for the benefit of the lay people. After Tson-khapa's death, Jam-yang presided over the Monlam-chenpo of Lhasa and raised it to prominence. From this circumstance the power of Dapung over the Monlam-chenpo became paramount and continues so to this day. The president of the Monlam-chenpo called the Dapung Sha-ngo exercises supreme authority in the spiritual affairs of the country during the months of January and February, when the Dalai Lama himself submits to the resolutions passed by the congregated clergy on the occasion. The chair of Dapung was filled by many able and distinguished sages, among whom Paldan-senje, one of the disciples of Tson-khapa, Jam-yang Gahlo, and Yontan Gyatsho of Tsang-thon, were the most learned. On the rise of Dapung with its great university the glory of Gahdan was overshadowed. The fame of the Gahdan Thipa as the profoundest scholar of the Yellow-cap Church was surpassed by that of the high priest of Dapung. Under the presidency of Gedun Gyatsho who was called Dapung Tulpaiku (incarnate Lama of Dapung), the monastery with its university claimed precedence even over Gahdan. Gedun Gyatsho in whom the spirit of Gedun-dub had appeared was called Gyal-wa-ni-pa (2nd Gyalwa). He was, therefore, the first incarnate hierarch of the Yellow-cap Church, from whose time the monastery enjoyed the proud name of Chyog-nampar Gyal-wa—victorious in all the

quarters, which expression is preserved to this day in the silver currency of Tibet.

Dapung contained the following Tva-tshang or colleges :

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| 1. Tashi-gomang. | 4. Ḇag-pa Namgyal-ling. |
| 2. Lozang-ling. | 5. Ku-chyog-ling. |
| 3. Thoisam-ling. | 6. Choikhor-ling. |
| 7. De-yan. | |

Of these only four are now in existence. Thoisam-ling, Ku-chyog-ling and Choikhor-ling were abolished during the presidencies of Sonam Gyatsho and Lozang Gyatsho. There are at present 7,700 monks in the monastery most, of whom are recruited from noble families in Kham, Mongolia, Gyarong, Nag-rong, Amdo, U and Tsān. In the Zimkhang, Jam-yang Choije's residence, situated behind the grand cloister, is the image of Jam-yang Sung-chon (speaking Mañjuśrī). In the central Tsān-khaṇ (chapel) are the golden images of the Buddha-s of the past, present and future in sitting posture and surrounded by their respective eight disciples. In the temple of Na-chu-tug Lhakhang there are the sixteen sthavira (sages) brought from China by the illustrious Phag-pa during the reign of the Emperor Khublai Khan. In the new chapel consecrated to Champa there are : the huge image of the coming Buddha, representing him as a youth of twelve, and a silver trident used by Jam-yang himself. In the Kalzang Lhakhang there are one thousand Buddhas, all made of copper gilt with gold. In the Kaḥgyur Lhakhang, i.e., the library of sacred books, there are Kaḥgyur collections all written in gold. In the cloister of the Ḇag-pa Tva-tshang (Tantrik College), there are many articles very sacred to the Buddhists. On the right of the image of Vajra Bhairava is the statue of Tsōn-khapa and on its left is the image of the Lord of Death with his horrid train. The principal temple is three-storeyed. The principal hall of congregation called the Dukhang Chenpo on the ground floor contains 240 wooden pillars distributed over an area of 34,560 sq. ft. to accommodate 7,700 monks when they assemble to perform religious service.

The third hierarch was Pan-chen Sonam Tag-pa; the 4th, Sonam Gyatsho, the Dalai Lama; 5th, Yontan Gyatsho, Dalai Lama; 6th, Panchen Lozang Choigyan of Taśi-lhunpo; 7th, Nag-wang Lozang Gyatsho, the Fifth Dalai Lama; 8th, Nag-wang Yeše Gyatsho (Pakardsin-pa); 9th, Kalyang Gyatsho (7th Dalai Lama) in the year 1726.

The Monastery of MERU was one of the four sanctuaries founded at the four cardinal points of Lhasa by King Ralpa-chan in the 9th Century A.D. It was abolished by King Lañdarma, but was afterwards restored to its former condition and formed the metropolitan monastery.

CHAGPOIRI is a monastic institution with classes for the study of medicine. It is called the Man-pa Tva-tshang or the Medical College. It does not contain more than one hundred pupils.

Phabong-kha was anciently King Sroñ-tsan Gampo's favourite resort, where he used to propitiate his tutelary deities. The seven early monk-scholars called Sadmi-midun also had their residence there. During the persecution of Buddhism by King Lañdarma there existed no monastic establishment at Phabongkha. Geśes Tag-kar-pa revived the institution. During the hierarchy of Sakya, Dogon Phagpa repaired the monastery and gave rich endowments for its maintenance, but during the dispute between Sakya and Phagmodu it again dwindled into insignificance till it was repaired by Thegchen Choigyal and revived by Je-Deleg Nima. But again, when internal discords convulsed Tibet, it declined and remained in a neglected condition till the year Earth-Sheep of the tenth cycle when Minister Paljor Lhundub of the family of Khon rescued it from ruin. Since then it has been flourishing.

Sangphy Nehu-thang, situated on a hill beyond Nethang, was founded by Dog Leg-ce in the same year when Sakya was established.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF PHAGDU, WHICH RULED OVER TIBET ON THE DECLINE OF SAKYA TILL A. D. 1432

When in former times the Sakya hierarchs enjoyed the proud privilege of being the spiritual instructors of the Tartar Emperors of China, the envoy Situ Akyid took a census of the households of the agricultural Tibetans and also of the Hor Tibetans (so called from their leading a nomadic life like the Mongols). Within the *Thikor* or governorship of Phagmodu in Central Tibet, there were included two thousand four hundred and thirty-eight families, out of which six hundred belonged to Lhasa City, and five hundred to Taglung. When Hor Jam, one of the Tartar Commissioners of China, visited the Chyangkha (the northern province, including Nom-tsho or lake Tengri Nor), he included the numerous tribes of herdsmen that dwelt there in the political province of Phagmodu. The Emperor of China, in consultation with the spiritual authorities of Sakya, placed this large division under an able Thipon or provincial governor. Formerly, when both Dikhung Di-guin and Dansa-thil hierarch amalgamated their temporal and monastic possessions, Gompa Shagrin, the abbot of Dikhung, with the general consent of the clergy and laity of Tibet got one of his relations, named Gomtson, appointed as Thipon who, under the patronage of the Chiefs of Kang-yeng and lower Mongolia built the government house (*Thikhang*) of Tshong-du-tagkhar. Thereafter, Khanpo Ringyal, the Tolpon of the famous hierarch Chyan-na Rinpoche, became the chief of Lhobrag Shong-de. About this time a native of Kham, named Dorje-pal, by his ability, energy and accomplishments, attracted the notice of Chyan-na Rinpoche. This young man, introducing himself to that Grand Lama as one sprung from the noble family of Dag Lah-zig, and as very anxious to be his disciple, so insinuated himself into his confidence, that the Grand Lama, struck with his general efficiency in all matters of importance, sent him to China to represent the interests of his grand hierarchy. There he took the opportunity of

securing for himself and his heirs the governorship of Central Tibet, together with a state seal and decorations. Returning to Tibet in the year Tree-Tiger (1192 A. D.) he built the Thikhang (government house) of Yarlung, called Namgyal-ling and Nedong-tse. During his rule, which extended over thirteen years, he enjoyed the goodwill both of those who were above and under him. He was renowned for his liberality. His governorship extended over twelve important places, besides Nedong-tse, which was the chief seat of his government. These were Halayang, Namo, Chag-tse-tugu, Thangpo-chin-ling-me, Choi Slukha, Monkhar, Taśi-dong, Gya-thang, Tshong-dui-tag-kha, Zangri Phodang-gang, Khoitog-cha, and Kardo. After his death, his younger brother named Shon-nu Gyal-tshan, discharged the duties of Thipon for three or four years. He was succeeded by one of his relations, named Chyang-shon (born of the family of Kya-ya-dag-chu), during whose administration the Sakya and Dikhung hierarchies fought with each other. Chyang-shon had the good wishes of the Sakyapa authorities, but owing to some cause having incurred the displeasure of Ponchen (Chief Governor) Anglen of Sakya, he was ordered to be burnt alive, but on explaining matters he was exonerated and his life spared. After his death the grandson of Shon-nu Gyal-tshan, named Shon-nu Yontan, became Thipon.

At this time Thumer Bukhoi, a Mongol prince of the Imperial family, with his wife, came on a pilgrimage to Tibet. The Thipon having failed to show his efficiency in military as well as in civil matters, and being reported to have oppressed his subjects, the younger brother of Chyan-na Rin-pochhe, nicknamed Gyavo, or the bearded, recommended his dismissal to the Mongol chief. During this time the State affairs of Thikhor were conducted by a council formed of the following : the governor of Sakya Monastery, named Rin-chen Taśi, Tsöñ-dui Pal, a relation of Chyan-na Rin-poche, the second cousin of Shon-nu Yontan, Tagpa-pho-zer, the son of Gogochu, named Dorje of Yarlung, Jovo Tagpa-rin, and others. In the meantime, with the sanction of the Emperor

of China, Taiśri Tagpa-hodpa became governor. By bringing Gyavo, the brother of Chyan-na Rin-poche, over to his side, he also assumed the spiritual power. He gave the ex-governor Shon-nu Yontan, the villages of Tempora and Chomon-khar for his personal maintenance. On the death of Gyavo, the elder brother of Chyan-na Rin-pochhe, named Gyal Shonpal, proceeded to Peking, and with the sanction of Lhaje Phag-modu, (Phag-du heirarch) assumed the office of Thipon. Shortly after, he was deposed by the Sakyapa authorities, who placed his younger brother in charge of the government. From him the office descended to Gyal-tshan-kyab, the son of Shon-nu Gyaltshan.

When Disri Kuntob-pa proceeded to China, Gyal-tshan-kyab was discharged from the governorship. Ritsi Wang Gyalpo then became Thipon, and received the title of Tai Situ. He was succeeded by Sonam Gyal-tshan, the grandson of Gyal-tshan Kyab, who performed the duties of Thipon. He was very popular with his subjects. He was so very resolute that no one could oppose his views or outdo him in anything. He brought all Tibet under his sway. Situ Chyan-tshan, from his early age, became skilful in war, literature, and religion. At the age of fifty-five in the year Water-Monkey, in the 15th of the second month, he undertook the task of rescuing the Sakya regent, Ponchen Gyal-tshang, who had been kept in duress by the abbot Lhakhong Labrangpa of the great temple of Sakya; and for this purpose he placed himself at the head of the troops of U and Tsāñ and waged war with Sakya. On the 5th of the fifth month of the same year, with the assistance of the minor chiefs, he besieged Sakya and delivered the chief from the hands of his enemies. Before dispersing his army he compelled the hierarch to appoint him as chief Thipon of Tibet, and was supported by his nephew, Situ Lodoi Gyan-tsan, in his works. He was presented with hexagonal seal, and the people of Tsāñ distinguished him by raising white silken banners in his honour. He encouraged both literature and religion.

Chyan-chub Gyal-tshan (the younger brother of Rinchen

Tagyal) was born in the year Tree-Tiger, 1302, A. D. In the fourteenth year for his age (Hare year) he took his admission into the monastery of Sakya, where he stayed with the heirarch Dag-ñid-chenpo. He was entrusted with the office of keeping the Government seal. Once the Grand Lama asked if he (Chyan-chub) would go up for the church, so as to be called a Rinpoche, or for the State to be called Thipon or governor. On his wishing to be a Rinpoche, the Grand Lama said, "No, you are destined for the State. In order to qualify yourself for a governorship you should study the work called '*Yul-gyal*' and some works on political ethics." Thereafter, taking leave of the Grand Lama, he became a pupil of Lama Nam-me-chenpo and learnt the two parts of logic. In the autumn of Tiger year Chyan-chub and his elder brother Lopon Tagzang were respectively invested with the temporal and spiritual offices. At the investiture, people were entertained with tea boiled in the same cauldron. Lopon Tagzang expounded the sacred laws and delivered sermons, while Chyan-chub assumed the dignity of Thipon or governor.

When Chyan-chub became known all over the country, with the help of all other minor Thipon, he besieged Sakya. He occupied Chya Zang-gang, which was then called Cha-zang-kang, and from some good action done in it became known by the name of Chyazang Jong (or the place of good action). During his reign the house of Lha-zig became very powerful. Having achieved many exploits in temporal matters, he (Chyan-chub) resolved upon doing pious actions. He built the monastery of Tse-thang (Chethang) and established a college there. He made Nedong-tse the chief seat of government. Inviting the Grand Lama Sonam Gyal-tshan, he consecrated the religious establishment founded by him and appointed his cousin, Sakya Gyal-tshan, as the head of the church and president of the ceremonies to regulate the order of precedence. Thus the government of Phag-modu, for its efficiency both in temporal and spiritual matters, became very famous, and excelled those preceding it. At the age of 63, in the year Fire-Dragon, he retired from this existence

at the palace of Nedong (Gahdan-tse). His cousin, sakya Gyal-tshan, succeeded him in the throne of Nedong-tse, and assumed both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the State. By his able administration of the church and the secular laws, he increased the prosperity and peace of U and Tsang. On account of his being ever thoughtful for the happiness of his subjects, he was praised by all men and called Jan Yang sakya. The Tartar Emperor, Thugan Themur, conferred on him the title of Changa-kung. After his death, his younger brother Sakya Rinchen, became chief, the Thipon, and filled the throne of Nedong-tse. He was very fond of inspecting the works of local officers and inquiring after the condition of his subjects. Once while on tour in U and Tsan, he stopped at the village of Gya-mo-shong. Here the house that he and his party occupied, accidentally caught fire, which quickly spreading so surrounded him that he and his servants very narrowly escaped from being burnt. On his return he founded the monastery of Khartag Gonsar, and stayed there to avert the calamities that, according to his fortunetellers, hung over him. He always roved from one place to another. Chyang-tag Chyan presided at the head of the State Church for a few years.

After Sakya Rinchen's death his younger brother, Tagrin, filled the throne of Nedong-tse. For some time the state affairs were in the hands of Gyal-tshan Zang and his cousin. The control of the government remained with Chyan-na till Gyal-tshan Zang, also called Tagrin, came in a state hide-boat from Gongkar to relieve him of the charge. He was succeeded by Tagpa Gyal-tshan, a boy of eleven, the son of Sakya Rinchen, in the year Tree-Bird.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF CHYAN-CHUB GYAL-TSAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

In the year A. D. 1302 Chyan-chub Gyal-tshan, of the well known family of Lhazig, was born in the town of Phagdu in Central Tibet. After subjugating all the thirteen (Thikor)

provinces of Tibet proper and also Kham, he had established his sway over Tibet. At the age of eighteen he was appointed to the command of 10,000 soldiers under orders from the Emperor of China. This sudden elevation excited the jealousy and enmity of the chiefs of Di-gun, Tshal, Yahzan and Sakya authorities, who spared no pains in devising means to ruin him. At last, they drove him to war. In the first battle he met with some reverses, but was victorious in the second. The war lasted for many years, when ultimately victory attended the arms of the chief of Phagdu, who captured almost all the hostile chiefs and threw them into prison. After this discomfiture, the chiefs, nobles and Lamas of U and Tsan jointly petitioned to the Emperor to degrade the upstart. But the irrespressible chief proceeded to Peking; there, presenting the skin of a white lion, besides other rich and rare presents to Emperor Thugwan Thumer, he represented the circumstances connected with the case. Pleased with his sincere statements, the Emperor decided in his favour and appointed him hereditary noble of Tibet, assigning the whole of U to him with the exception of the province of Tsan which continued to remain under the hierarchy of Sakya.

After his return to Tibet from Peking, Chyan-chub organised a regular form of government for Central Tibet. He reformed legislation, and revised the ancient laws and regulations. He built the castle of Nedong-tse and large fortress with three gates to the ramparts. Inside it he founded a monastery. He endeavoured to observe the Daśa Śīla (Ten moral virtues). By his exemplary morals and piety, and above all by his beneficial rule, he won the sincere esteem of his subjects. He founded the town of Tse-than with a monastery in it. He built thirteen forts such as Gongkar, Tagkar &c., Later on, he induced the Tartar Emperor to confer on him the high distinction of Tai Situ together with authority over the whole of Tibet. By his able rule he increased the happiness and prosperity of his people.

The fourth in succession from him was Sakya Rinchen, who became a favourite of the Emperor, by whom he was

entrusted with the collection of revenue from one of the great provinces of China, and also with the charge of guarding the Imperial palace. Sakya Rinchen, instead of showing his gratefulness, took part in a conspiracy matured by the Chinese Prime Minister named Kyen-Hun, to usurp the throne. He sent many wagons, loaded with armed soldiers, concealed under heaps of silk clothes under cover of darkness inside the imperial city. The Emperor, fortunately, having got scent of the matter secretly fled towards Mongolia. Sakya Rinchen proclaimed the minister's son, Li-Wang, as Emperor of China. Thus through the help of a Tibetan chief the Ta Ming dynasty was established. Yung Ming presented Tag-pa Gyal-tshan, son of Sakya Rinchen, with a gold seal and the additional possession of ulterior Tibet. He was made the undisputed sovereign of all Tibet, which extended from Nagahrikor-sum to Sze-chuan. Tag-pa Gyal-tshan was succeeded by his son Wan Juñ-ne, whose appointment was confirmed by the Emperor Kyen Tai Li-wang. He built the fortresses of Hug Yug-ling and Karjong. His grandson, Rin Dorje, obtained the title of Wan (king) from China. Nag Wan Taši was a very impartial and just ruler. He shewed great veneration for the Dalai Lama So nam Gyatsho, whom he greatly patronized. The celebrated Dharma Rāja named Padma Karpo of Bhutan was also a friend of his. He several times fought with his rebel minister Rinchen-puñpa and was every time successful. He was decorated with the title of Kwa-tin Kau Sri by the Emperor.

During the reign of the Phagdu dynasty all Tibet enjoyed peace and prosperity. People became rich in money and cattle. The country enjoyed immunity from famine and murrain, and was not harassed by foreign invasion. Although, some petty fights and quarrels with some of the disaffected and rapacious ministers now and then disturbed the peace of the country, yet on the whole, the dynasty was beneficial to Tibet.

TIBET UNDER HER LAST KINGS (1434—1642 A.D.)

About eighty years after Tahi Situ Chyañ Chub Gyal-tshan's annexation of Tsang to the Government of Central Tibet, one of the Governors under the Phag-mo-du Rulers named Rinpung Norzang, a native of Tsan, caused a rising of the people against the Phag-mo-du authorities, and from the year Fire-Hare of the 7th Cycle, the *Shikha* (towns) of Rinpung and Samdub-tse (modern Shiga-tse) passed under the authority of Kun-zang Don-dub-dorje, the two sons of Rinpung Norzang. They established their power over the whole of Tsan in the year 1434, but nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Phag-mo-du Chief. From the year Earth-Tiger of the 8th Cycle, the Government of Central Tibet had to contend with internal dissensions both in the north and south of U for which Mi-wang Nehu-dong-pa, the Ruler of Phag-mo-du, removed his residence to Dansa-thil, the seat of the Phagdu hierarchy. In the year Iron-Ox, the son of Kun-zang named Don-yo-dorje, who was also called Rinpung Deba Gar-wa, inviting the *Karma* heirarch Choi-tog Gyatsho of the *Shwa-mar* (Red-Cap sect), invaded U with ten thousand troops. He drove away Miwang Nehu-dong-pa from his capital, and took possession of it. In this connexion, it is stated, that though the hierarch of Gahdan had twice tried to turn the tide of victory towards the Ruler of Nehu-dong-tse by propitiating some spirits, yet the *Karma-pa* hierarch, his adversary, by superior exorcism made Rinpung-pa victorious at the end. This heralded the trinmph of the *Shwa-mar* (Red-Cap Church) over the Yellow Church. Thereafter, for suppressing the growing power of Sera and Dapun monasteries, two monasteries of the Red and Black Cap sects of the *Karma-pa* school were erected under Rinpung-pa's auspices. This was done with a view to make Sera and Dapun, the ~~two great~~ Yellow Church monasteries, to die a natural death for want of support either from the State or from the

pious. The *Karma-pa* and *Dug-pa* sects sent troops to overpower some of the smaller Yellow Church institutions which, thereby, became converted to the Red-Cap Church. Some of the land endowments of Sera and Dapun were taken away from them, for which reason the breach between the rival schools became wide. From the year Earth-Ox to that of Earth-Tiger in the 9th Cycle, the Lamas of Sera and Dapun were prevented from taking part in the Monlam Chenpo of Lhasa. But since the year Fire-Dog, Miwang Nehu-dong-pa, the Chief of Nehu-dong-tse recovered his authority to some extent over the province of U. Again in the year Fire-Bird (about 1508) during Gedun Gya-tsho's residence at Methog Thang of Gyal, the Digong-pa Lamas brought troops from Kong-po for crushing down the power of the Yellow Church. When they were about to demolish the outer Dsong (fort) of Holkha, the Chief Nangso Don-yod of Dohdah came with his troops for rescuing it. The Digong-pa Lamas failing to destroy the Dsong, diverted their attention towards Lung Shoi, Hod-na, and other places where they succeeded in converting eighteen Gelug-pa (Yellow Church) institutions into Red-Cap school. In the year Water-Ox the Yellow-Cap Lamas also sent troops to Kyor-lung and other places under the *Kahgyud-pa* authorities. In this manner the Lamas of the different sects and schools became involved in civil dissensions. During this period the state of affairs in Tibet resembled the dark days which had followed the succession of the apostate Lañdarma to the throne of Tibet.

The Chiefs of Tsan, who held office under the Phag-mo-du Rulers of Central Tibet, frequently led their troops to U to harass the people. They sometimes retired to their own strongholds after defeat, but often quietly annexed parts of their master's territories to their possessions. The Lamas of the Yellow Church struggled for power and to establish their supremacy over Tibet, in which act they met with reverses on account of the powerful help which the Chief of Tsan had given to the Lamas of *Shwa-mar* sects.

In the year 1564, Tshe-wang Dorje, the chief representa-

tive of the house of Rinpung,¹ with his son Padma Karpo held the fort of Samdub-tse, and having brought the whole of Upper Tsāñ under his power, declared himself Tsāñ-toi Gyalpo, the King of Upper Tsāñ. In the year 1569 (Iron-Horse of the 10th Cycle) the authorities of D-gong fought with those of the monastery of Tag-hing. In the year Water-Serpent, there was a rebellion at Kyid Shoi against the Phag-mo-du authorities. The Dalai Lama, Gedun Gyatsho, interceding in the affairs brought upon an agreement between the ruler and the ruled. Again afterwards, in the year Tree-Hog (1574) Rinpung-pa brought his troops to Kyid Shoi for creating disturbances, but they were compelled to withdraw from there after they had caused some injury to the people. In the year Iron-Serpent (1580) internal dissensions again raged in Digong. On Dalai Yontan Gyatsho's return from Mongolia, the *Shwamar* hierarch, Nag-wang Choitag complimented him with a letter written in verse; but some misapprehension having arisen as to its concealed meaning, Rab Byampa Geleg Lhundub and others sent a discourteous reply to it couched in terms which were interpreted as conveying insult to the hierarch. This incident, unfortunately, raked up greater bitterness in the strained relations between the two rival Buddhist Churches of Tibet.

The King of Upper Tsāñ, with the help of a few petty chiefs of the south and north, incited the Na-wa Rong people to rebellion, in quelling which, the resources of the Government of Central Tibet were greatly exhausted. Taking advantage of this disturbance he asserted his independence.

In the year *Tree-serpent* heading the troops of the Red and Black-cap Lamas of the *Karma-pa* School, he attacked the military encampment of Deba Kyid Shoi and killed a large number of Dungkhors (civil officers) of the Government. On this occasion the *Karma-pa* Lamas became exultant and made a metrical rejoinder to the Dalai Lama's reply by placing

1. Rinpung or Rinchenpung, a small town in the Tsāñ Rong district. It contained a huge image of Maitreya famous under the name of Rong-Chan-Chen.

their letter before the image of Buddha in the Cathedral of Lhasa. This step, which was meant to be an appeal to show that the *Shwa-mar* hierarch's welcome to the Dalai Lama was sincere, produced disastrous effects. It induced the Yellow-Cap Lamas to invite the help of the Mongolian hordes. About the time that Sonam Namgyal was Deba of Kyi-Shoi, several thousands of Tartar horsemen had already come to Tibet and encamped in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. In the year Iron-Dragon (1609) the *Karma* hierarch named Phuntshog Namgyal, with his son *Karma* Tan Kyong Wang-po, led the Tsān army to U, but finding that the Mongol horsemen, that had come to protect the Yellow Church, were waiting for an action, out of fear they quietly withdrew. In the year Water-Mouse (1611) he brought the whole of Tsān including Gyal Khar-tse (modern Gyang-tse) and Byang (northernmost province of Tsān) under his power, and became known as Tsān Gyal, i.e. King of Tsān. This was the first instance in which a *Karma* hierarch had marched at the head of a victorious army, having betaken himself to worldly life, and become lord temporal and spiritual.

Later on, again invading U with the Tsān army, he took possession of Nehu Dong and all the lands, and some of the smaller monasteries of U. In the seventh month of the year year Earth-Hare (1617), resolving to entirely demolish the Yellow-Cap Church he besieged Sera and Dapūn and killed many thousand monks. He expelled the Yellow-Cap Lamas from Lhasa. In their discomfiture the Lamas took shelter at Tag-lung. In the year 1619, that is, shortly after the humiliation of the Yellow-Cap Church and its patron Miwang Nehu Dong-pa, the Mongolian army arrived and met the Tsān army first at Kyang-thang-gang near Lhasa, and ultimately at Tsān Gyadhang-gang and completely routed them. In the seige of Lhasa, which followed this success of the friends of the Yellow Church, about 100,000 Tsān men were captured. They all would have been killed had not the Panchen Rinpoche (Taśi Lama of Tsān) timely interceded and procured their release. The monasteries of Sang-nag Khar and

others, besides many Lamas of the Yellow Church that had been taken over to the Red-Cap Church, were restored in 1620 to the Yellow Church, which got back its lost territorial endowments as well. The king of Tsan and his friend the valiant *Karma* hierarch failing in their military enterprise in Tibet, sought for help from the Mongolian Chiefs who were devoted to the Red-Cap Church. It took them nearly twenty years to consolidate their power in Tibet after the retirement of the Mongolian hordes from Tibet. When they had again grown powerful they began persecuting the Yellow Church with greater animosity than before.

THE HIERARCHY OF THE DALAI LAMA (1406-1745)

The reformed Buddhist Church called Shwa-ser, the school of Yellow-cap Lamas, founded by Tson-khapa acquired such a celebrity within a few years of its birth that in the year 1406 Yunglo, the third Emperor of the Ta Ming dynasty sent an invitation to the great reformer to visit Peking. Finding, his time fully necessary for scriptural as well as monastic reformation, Tson-khapa was unable to comply with Yunglo's wish. He, however, sent his principle discipal to enlighten the devout monarch in the mysteries of Lamaism as developed in the reformed school, in the following year.

On his arrival at Peking, Śakya Yeses found the Emperor suffering from a serious illness. He performed several religious ceremonies, which was believed to have effected a speedy recovery. Under his direction a huge image of Maitreya, the coming Buddha, called Chamchen, was constructed and placed in the monastery of Yung-ho-kung¹ founded by Yunglo himself. Śakya Yeses was appointed high priest of this monastery and given the title of Chamchen Choije. He founded the great monastery of Hwang-sze or Yellow Temple in one of the imperial gardens situated to the north of Peking.² On his return journey to Tibet he took the circuitous Mongolian route and paid a visit to his tutor and chief Tson-khapa, making large presents to him. Shortly after his return to Lhasa, in the year 1418, he founded the great monastery of Sera Theg-chelin with the wealth which he had amassed during his residence in the capital of China. Sera, in time, rose to great distinction and was resorted to by Lamas as a seat of learning. It now contains 5,500 monks

1. This monastery is now presided over by an incarnate Lama and contains about 1,000 monks, mostly Mongolians. I visited it several times during my residence in Peking in 1885.

2. During my residency in Peking I was accommodated in this monastery as the guest of Kusho Kudub-pa, agent of the grand Lama of Lhasa. It contains the marble tomb of great artistic workmanship and beauty erected by Emperor Kuenlong in honour of the Taśi Lama Paldan Yeses, Warren Hasting's friend, who died of smallpox in Peking.

and is second only to Dapuṇ in rank.

In 1408, shortly after establishing the grand annual congregational assembly called Monlam-chenpo at Lhasa, Tsōn-khapa founded the great monastery of Gaḥdan with 3,300 monks at a place some 20 miles to the East of Lhasa, and presided over it as the minister of the reformed Church till his death. He laid down the rule that his successors in the ministerial chair of Gaḥdan should be elected from among the most pious and learned of the brotherhood irrespective of their position in birth. Constitutionally, therefore, the Gaḥdan Thipa became his successor in the ministry, the hierarch of the Yellow-cap Church.³

From that time Gaḥdan became the chief seat of the reformed Church, the monks of which put on the yellow-cap to distinguish themselves from the followers of the older sects who generally wore the red-cap (*shwa-mar*) and were, therefore, called Shwa-ser Gelugpa, i. e., the order of which the religious badge was the yellow-cap. They were also called Gaḥdan-pa from the name of their monastery.

In 1415, one of Tsōn-khapa's disciples named Jam-yan Choije founded Dapuṇ, now the premier monastery of Tibet, with 7,700 monks under the patronage of Namkha Zangpo, the then ruler of Tibet. In the year of the foundation of the monastery of Sera, the great reformer, whose real name was Lozan Tagpa but who is better known as Tsōn-khapa from the name of his birthplace Tsōn-kha (onion bank), in Amdo, passed away from mundane existence.

In 1446, Gadun-dub one of the later disciples of Tsōn-khapa founded the grand monastery of Taśi-lhunpo in Tsān. The establishment of these four great monasteries,—first Gaḥdan, then Dapuṇ and Sera, and lastly, Taśi-lhunpo,—which have played such an important part in the political

3. In the recent negotiations with the British Government at Lhasa the Regent who signed the Treaty with Colonel Younghusband, was Gaḥdan Thipa (incorrectly named as Te-lama) in whose hands the Dalai Lama, at the time of his flight from Lhasa, had left the keys of the palace of Potala.

administration of the country, made the provinces of U and Tsāñ the headquarters of the Yellow Church. On account of his profound learning and holiness, though of humble and obscure parentage, Gadundub was regarded as a saint. He himself never pretended to have been of saintly origin, but people believed that he must have possessed in him the spirit of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara—the guardian saint of Tibet. About three years after Gadundub's death the possibility of the reappearance of the spirits of deceased Lamas for the first time dawned in the minds of the members of the reformed Church. The monks of Dapuñ over which Gadundub had latterly presided thought that the spirit of one who had loved his country and all living beings so much could hardly have become freed from this longings, to work for them even when he had passed out of his mortal tenements. They, therefore, sent emissaries to the different places which the Lama had visited during his lifetime, to inquire if there was born seven weeks after his demise, any child in whom could be traced the signs of its indicating any incidents of Gadundub's life. They also consulted their tutelary deities for guidance in the right identification of Gadundub's spirit should it have reappeared in any child.

At last, a child was discovered at Tanag born in the family of Sreg-ton Darma, who had settled in Tsāñ from Lower Kham. It revealed some signs of having been the re-embodiment of the Lama's spirit and successfully claimed as his own certain articles for which Gadundub used to evince much liking and which were kept mixed up with other people's properties. This fortunate child was removed to Taśi-lhunpo for religious and monastic education. His father, who was a lay Tāntrik priest of the Niñ-ma sect, instructed him in the Tāntrik cult. When twelve years old he took the vows of an Upāsaka (Lay devotee) from Pañchen Luñrig Gya-tsho of Taśi-lhunpo; after which he was admitted into monkhood by the abbot of Ne-nin. When he passed all the examinations in the sacred scriptures, he was elevated to the highest rank in the order of monkhood, after being given the name of

Gadun Gya-tsho and placed on the high priest's chair in 1511. He ably presided over the monastery of Taśi-lhunpo for a period of five years. He received instructions in the Buddhist scriptures and metaphysics from such eminent scholars as Ye-śes-zañ, hierarch of Gañdan, Yontan Gya-tsho of Tsāñ and Panchen-ye-śes of Taśi-lhunpo. He founded the monastery of Choikhor Gyal in the plain of Metog-thāñ in 1508. In the 43rd year of his age, in the year 1516, he was appointed to the abbotship of Dapuñ where he was better known by the title of Dapuñ Tulku or Avatāra. In later times this Avatāra, in his successive incarnations, received the titles of Gyal-ba Rinpoche, Gyahvai Wañpo, Tale Lama, etc.

With him, in fact, originated the institution of incarnations in Tibet, which was but little known before and which since then has become general all over Tibet and Mongolia.

In the 52nd year of his age the Lamas of Sera elected him as their high priest, which office he held till his death in 1541. Since Kyisho, the district of which Lhasa is the chief town, had passed under the ruler of Tsāñ named Rinchen Puñ-pa, for a period of nineteen years, the Lamas of Sañphu and Karma sects presided over the annual prayer assembly of Lhasa called the Monlam Chenpo. Under the auspices of Gadun Gya-tsho, the Lamas of Sera and Dapuñ regained their lost authority over the grand institution. Gadun wrote several works on the different branches of the sacred literature. At the age of 68, in the year called Water-Tiger, he departed from this life.

His spirit was discovered in a lad of four years born in the family of Ma Rinchen-chog at Toilun in the year 1546. When this boy was ten years old the Lamas of Dapuñ placed him on the chair of their high priest under the title of Sonam Gya-tsho. Formerly, when the Tartar Emperor Khublai Khan made rich presents to his spiritual tutor Lama Phag-pa, the latter had predicted that in time to come he would reappear on this earth as a Lama bearing the name—"Ocean",

which in Mongolian was called Tale—Dalai, while the Emperor himself would reign as a king of the name Altan signifying gold in Mongolian.

Altan, the powerful Khan who ruled over Thumed Mongolia, being told by an astrologer that in a former life he was the great Khan of China, wished to know what became of the spirit of the Lama who had exercised so much influence over Emperor Khublai. Being informed that he too was reborn in the person of Sonam Gya-tsho, the incarnate Lama of Dapuñ, the monarch sent his general Taši Rabdan to bring him to Mongolia.

In 1557, Sonam Gya-tsho became High Priest of Sera. Being in charge of both Sera and Dapuñ, he exercised great influence at Lhasa. In 1563, he took the final vows of monkhood. In 1573, he founded the monastery of Namgyal Ta-tshai on Potala, but the Shwa-mar (red-cap) Lamas, whose power was again ascendant under the auspices of the ruler of Tsaiñ, dispossessed him of this institution, converting it at the same time to a monastery of their own school. In 1574, the Tsaiñ army under Rinchen Puñ-pa invaded U and after subjugating it, withdrew to Tsaiñ. About this time, the messenger of Altan Khan arrived and Sonam Gya-tsho was but too glad to accept the invitation for the purpose of converting the Mongolians to his creed. He set out on his journey to Mongolia in the company of the Khan's messenger, but owing to the numerous invitations he received on the way from the various chiefs and nobles of Tibet and who importuned him for his blessings, his journey was retarded. Taši Rabdan, therefore, parted company with him at Radeñ and proceeded to Mongolia, in advance of the Lama. Being informed that the incarnate Phag-pa was coming, Altan Khan deputed three of his generals to welcome him. While passing through Arig than, Nai-tsho and upper Mongolia, the Lama received the deputations which brought the tidings of the welcome that would be accorded him by the Khan. Altan himself advanced up to Tshab-cha, at the source of the Hoangho, a place situated to the South East of Lake Kokonor.

At the first meeting the Khan addressed the Lama by the title—Tale Lama Vajradhara, Tale being the Mongolian equivalent of Gya-tsho which signifies “Ocean”. But the Lama's real name was Sonam Gya-tsho which signified “The ocean of merit”. Thus originated the name Dalai (from Tale) Lama by which the Buddhist hierarchs of the line of Gadundub came to be known in Mongolia, China and Tibet. From that time Gya-tsho became a necessary and inseparable part of the name of Gadundub's successors. The Mongolians readily embraced Buddhism and became devout followers of the Yellow-cap Church. With a view to commemorate his visit to Mongolia, Sonam Gya-tsho, under the auspices of the Khan, founded the monastery of Choi-khor-lin in the Mongol capital. About this time the monastery of Kumbum⁴ was founded at the birth place of Tsoñ-khapa in Amdo.

On his return journey Sonam Gya-tsho visited Khukukhukto Lithang, Chamdo, Kham, Apo, Chakyungtag, Ngan-tig Jomo-khan, Chambabomling, &c., thus propagating the Buddhist faith in Mongolia, and the border lands of Tibet. Having been worshipped by all classes of people—from the Khans of Mongolia down to the barbarians of Ulterior Tibet—he returned to Tibet, full of glory. He died in 1587. The spirit of Sonam Gya-tsho was discovered in Mongolia, the favourite place of his sojourn, in the family of Sumi Thaiji, a direct descendant of Jenghis Khan, the great Tartar conqueror. The child was named Yontan Gya-tsho, the ‘ocean of good quality’. This happy incident made the Mongolians firmly attached to the Yellow Church. They kept him in their country till the 15th year of his age. The authorities of Dapuñ, fearing lest the morals of their incarnate Lama might get stained by his continued residence in a country where chastity in the fair sex was unknown, brought him to Tibet at the budding of his youth. They gave him a good religious education before entrusting him with the duties of the high-priest of their monastery. About the time of Sonam Gya-tsho, the Kalmuk

4. Kumbum, it may be remembered, was visited by Abbe Huc and Gabet and later on by Mr. W. W. Rockhill.

Tartars of Khalkha had set up a third hierarch of the Yellow-cap sect under the name of Je-tsun Dampa at Urga—the city of tents. A question arose as to the relative position, in spiritual rank, of the high priest of the Mongolian monastery of Gahdan and the Khalkha hierarch. The Tartars of the upper and lower Mongolia were about to go to war for its solution.

In 1605, the young chief of the Celeuth Mongols effected reconciliation between the Kalmuks and his own tribe who had been quarrelling for some time on the question of precedence between Gahdan and Urga. For this service the Emperor of China conferred on him the Buddhist title of Ta Kausri, from which circumstance he became known by the name of Gushi Khan.

In the year 1609, the armies of Tsān again invaded U, but encountering much opposition they were forced to withdraw from there. In 1611, Phun-tshog Namgyal who patronized the Shwa-mar (red-cap) Lamas, became the supreme ruler of Tibet. In the beginning of the 17th century the province of Tsān came to prominence on account of the power of its Teba or chief. He belonged to the Karmapa hierarchy known by the name of Shwa-mar which had its headquarters at Tshorpu and Raluñ. With a view to put to shade Taśi-lhunpo they erected a large monastery in its immediate vicinity.

In the year 1615, Yontan Gya-tsho died, an event which was followed by the seige of the monasteries of Sera and Dapuñ by the armies of the Teba of Tsān in which several thousand Yellow-cap Lamas were killed. The news of this disaster to the Yellow Church enraged the Celeuth Mongols, whose general marched with a large army to Tibet and fought a fierce battle with the Tsān army at Kyan-thān-gāñ, and killed several thousand Tibetans. In 1620, the Mongolians retired after restoring the lost territorial endowments of the Yellow Church to the monasteries of Sera, Dapuñ and Gahdan. About this time Sera and Dapuñ were presided over by the grand Lama of Taśi-lhunpo. In 1623, he was

ordained and installed as the high priest of Dapuñ. About this time the Shwa-mar Lamas had regained their lost position and were vigorously prosecuting the Yellow Church.

They had, in the meantime, influenced the Kalmuk Mongols whose chief had become a convert to their creed. In the year 1636, Gushi Khan espoused the cause of the Yellow Church and entered Kokonor with a large army. At the outset of this invasion he had to encounter with the Kalmuk Mongols who had taken up the side of the Shwa-mar Lamas. He completely defeated them after several engagements. From Kokonor, while proceeding towards Tibet, he heard that king Beri of Kham, who was a follower of the Bon⁵ religion, was preparing to invade Tibet. He, therefore, marched against him and reduced him to subjection. He again invaded Kham in 1639; this time, putting Beri to death, he annexed his territories to his Mongolian Kingdom.

In the year 1641, at the invitation and earnest entreaty of the Dalai Lama Nag-wañ Lozañ Gya-tsho, he entered Tibet with 30,000 Tartars and fought several battles with the Tsāñ army led by the powerful Teba of Tsāñ. After capturing Lhasa and other towns which had been in the occupation of the Teba, he put him to prison, annexed Upper Tsāñ⁶ of which Gyan-tse was the chief town, and proclaimed himself the supreme king of Tibet, assuming the Tibetan name of Tanzin Choi-gyal—the upholder of Religion or Dharma Rājī.

He appointed Sonam Choiphel as Desrid (governor) to rule over the country in his absence. Henceforth Tibet became a dependency of the Mongolian kingdom founded by Gushi Khan, the Celeuth chief, who owed but nominal

5. The pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet, called Yuñ-druñ Bon, a form of fetishism in which exorcism and incantations were the chief features. It now prevails in some parts of Tibet, particularly Kham, but in a greatly modified and partly Buddhicised form.

6. He left lower Tsāñ, with Shiga-tse as its capital, to the possession of the Grand Lama of Tasi-lhunpo which continues to belong to that hierarchy up to this day.

allegiance to China. In 1643, six great nobles of China conspired against the last Ta Ming emperor Khrungtin (Tungtin), and their leader usurped the imperial authority for some time. Shortly after, Shun-ti (also called Shunchi), a Manchu chief, seized the throne and displaced the Ta Ming dynasty. So, owing to troubles in China and confusion during the period which preceded this dynastic change, no armed protest came from Peking against Gushi Khan's military operations in Tibet and Kham. In 1644, Gushi Khan built a castle on the famous hill of Potala for the accommodation of his court.

As soon as Shun-ti found himself secure and firmly seated on the imperial throne, he took up the foreign affairs in hand. With a view to bring Tibet again under his direct control he sent an invitation to the Dalai Lama to visit Peking. In 1651, Nag-wan Lozan reached Peking where he was feted and loaded with honours. The Emperor, who with his whole family embraced the Lamaism of the Yellow Church in preference to that of the Red-cap school to which the Ta Mings were attached, decorated him with the exalted title of Ta Kausri. On this occasion, the Dalai Lama was greatly impressed with the power and splendour of the Emperor's court as well as the vastness of his dominions. With a view to make the position of his church secure in Tibet he prayed to the Emperor that China might take over the protectorate of Tibet in the manner it was done by Khublai Khan, the founder of the Ta Yen dynasty, when the Emperor himself had embraced the Lamaism of the Sakya-pa school. He also explained that the Ta Mings from the time they had displaced the Tartar dynasty proved themselves very staunch supporters of Lamaism and became pledged to the tenets of the Red-cap sect of the Karmapa hierarchy. Shun-ti very gladly acceded to the prayer. From that time the Manchu dynasty became vouched, under solemn promises, to the protection of the authority of the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

Shortly after this, Shun-ti proceeded to Mukden, his Manchu capital, for offering prayers in the tombs of his

ancestors. Lozan Gya-tsho accompanied him thither. At the end of the year 1652 the Lama returned to Tibet, visiting on the way the great monastery of Gon-luṇ in Amdo, then a flourishing Yellow Church institution with 10,000 monks.

In 1653, Gushi Khan was succeeded by his son Da-yen Khan who appointed Lama Tin-leh Gya-tsho as Desird of Tibet. The government having passed from the hands of a Tartar General to those of a Lama, the power of the Dalai Lama, who had lately returned from China, full of glory, greatly increased. Lozan Gya-tsho, besides being a scholar, well-read in the sacred literature, was a shrewd statesman of great ability. He made Tin-len unconsciously subservient to his wishes in the government of the country. In 1668, the Desrid died leaving the Government in the hands of a layman named Choipon Teba, an incident which afforded Lozan Gya-tsho a still better opportunity to exercise his influence more effectually in the affairs of the state.

In 1670, Da-yen Khan died leaving the throne to his son Ratna Talai Khan. On the retirement of Choipon Teba in 1674, Lama Lozan Jin-pa was appointed Desrid of Tibet. Since the conquest of Tibet by Gushi Khan, the internal administration of the country, which was vested in the Desrid, had been practically directed by Lozan Gya-tsho, who, since his return from China, was considered as the holiest man on the face of the earth on account of his having become the spiritual tutor of the Emperor of China. He was reverentially called Goṇsa-napa-chenpo, the fifth supreme Lama,—the four who preceded him being Gadundub the founder of the hierarchy, Gadun Gya-tsho, Sonam Gya-tsho and Yontan Gya-tsho.

Talai Khan having become powerless in Mongolia itself, his Desrid became a non-entity in Tibet. In the year 1678, Lozan Gya-tsho assumed the supreme control of the country and appointed Saniye Gya-tsho, a layman of great wisdom and learning, as Desrid in the place of Lozan Jin-pa. Thus the sovereignty over Tibet and Kham practically passed from Talai Ratna Khan, the great-grandson of Gushi Khan, to the Tate Lama Nag-waṇ Lozan Gya-tsho, the supreme hierarch.

The ancient castle of Sroñ-tsan Gampo, the first Buddhist King of Tibet, which stood on the hill called Marpoi-ri (the red hill), was selected by Lozan Gya-tsho for his court. He transferred his residence and court called Choi-de Namgyal from Dapuñ to there, and laid the foundation of the famous palace of Phodan Marpo, now called Gañdan Phodan Choi-de Namgyal.

The name of the hill at the same time became changed into Potala, because the residence of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the patron saint of Tibet, whose spirit was believed to have appeared both in King Sroñ-tsan Gampo and himself, was mentioned in the sacred books to have been on the top of a hill called Potola-giri (the harbour hill)⁷ somewhere in the south of India. Henceforth, from this circumstance, Potala became the chief place of pilgrimage of the Buddhists of the northern school who regarded the Dalai Lama as the holiest of holies. His young Desrid, an adept in statecraft, than whom a greater statesman has not appeared in Tibet, in course of three years, firmly established the grand Lama's temporal authority all over the country, including Kham and Amdo. In 1681, Lozan Gya-tsho died, but the wily Tesrid managed to keep the occurrence secret from the public. He gave out that the Talai Lama, whose spirit was in communion with the gods, had entered into a *samādhi* (deep-meditation) under a solemn vow not to come out to public view for a period of twelve years. He now dressed himself in Lamac robes, and assumed a holy character, for it was not desirable for a Tesrid not to be looked upon as a holy man. He was regarded as a wise minister and efficient ruler: in 1683 he wrote a valuable work on astronomy, astrology and chronology

7. The Sanskrit name Potala in Tibetan is Gru-hdsin, meaning 'harbour'. The Chinese Buddhists have located Potala, the residence of their favourite saint Kwan-yin Avalokiteśvara in his Chinese form, in the island of Putoshan, situated on the coast of China about 200 miles off Shanghai, N. N. E., where pilgrims from China and Mongolia go annually in large number.

Alexander Csoma de Koros, by mistake, located Potala in the neighbourhood of the town of Khara Tata in the mouth of the Indus in Sind.

called *Vaidūrya Karpo*. In 1693, he completed the nine-storeyed building called Vaidūrya Mar-po (the red-palace) on Potala, and entombed the remains of Goñsa-ña-pa-chenpo, in the central hall, in a golden Chorten (*caitya*). In the same year he installed, under the name of Tshoñ-yan Gyatsho, a child, three years old, as the incarnation of the deceased Dalai who had passed out of his body at the termination of his twelve years trance in profound *samādhi*. During this long period the Desrid had consolidated the Dalai Lama's authority, having governed the country with consummate skill. He being the central figure in the government and a layman, was called De-ba, and his government came to be known by the name of Shing. At the close of the year, with a view to commemorate the accession of his late master to the sovereignty of Tibet, he inaugurated the Tshog-choi the congregational service in connexion with the annual prayer meeting called Monlam Chenpo, of Lhasa, founded by Tsöñ-khapa. In 1697, he wrote the work called *Vai-ser Choijun* the history of the rise of the Yellow Church. The boy Dalai Lama, as he grew up in age, shewed indifference to the performance of his religious duties. He failed in almost all the examinations that he was required to pass through before his ordination. He, however, displayed a tendency towards love-literature in which he acquired some proficiency. He selected from among the monks of Namgyal Ta-tshañ young men for companions. He composed love songs and generally spent his time in the royal groves in the suburbs of Lhasa, where men and women of all classes and age came to receive his blessings. Here he got facilities for indulging in the pleasures of life, the enjoyment of which was strictly prohibited to monks. His attention to young ladies alarmed the Lamas. At first the courtiers interpreted this unholy tendency of the youthful Lama as a mark of his communion with the Khan-do (female angels) who, it was given out, paid him secret visits in the guise of young maidens for initiating him in the

mysteries of Tāntrik Buddhism; but later on, when the grand Lama ran to excesses, and sang love songs and behaved in utter disregard of the canonical rules, the public became undeceived. The Lamaic authorities of the monasteries of Sera, Dapuñ and Gahdan took steps for his removal from the hierachial throne.

About this time the Chungar or the left branch of the Celeuth Mongols under the leadership of Tshe-wań Rab-dan had become very powerful, in consequence of which the influence of Gushi Khan's line over the Tartars greatly waned. The ambitious Tshe-wań Rabdan, who had made his power felt even in Russia in the north, was waiting for an opportunity to overrun Tibet.

The friends of the Desrid now courted his help against the enemies of the government who had reported the matter to the Emperor of China. In the year 1701, the abbots of the great monasteries with the help of the Desrid induced the prodigal youth to formally renounce the vows⁸ of celibacy and monkhood which he had taken from the grand Lama of Taśi-lhunpo. An incarnate Lama named Yesés Gya-tsho, who had come to Lhasa for that work, now took up the spiritual business appertaining to the Dalai Lama.

In 1702 Desrid Saṅgye Gya-tsho resigned his office and retired to private life. In 1705, the unfortunate Dalai Lama was removed from Tibet under a Chinese escort. He died on the way near lake Kokonur. When this news reached Peking, Emperor Kanghi ordered that a child in whom the spirit of Nag-wań Lozań may be discovered should be reported to him. In 1703, Lhabzań, son of Talai Ratna Khan, declared himself ruler of Tibet. He dismissed the militia and raised an

8. It is customary with the incarnate Lamas of Tibet to take religious vows from their seniors in the order. The grand Lama of Taśi-lhunpo being spiritually of equal rank with the Dalai Lama is competent to ordain him in the holy order. In the same manner the Taśi Lama, when junior in age, receives his religious vows and ordination from the Dalai Lama. They are related to each other as spiritual brothers and called Gyalsras or Jinaputra, sons of Buddha.

army from among the Tartars. His first act was to surround the residence of the retired Desrid, his former chief, with a number of armed men and to kill him with four hundred of his devoted followers. In 1704, orders came from the Emperor to deport Tshai-yan Gya-tsho to China. The faction in the Yellow Church which was inimical to Lhabzan took immediate steps to elect a new Dalai Lama. They gave out that Nag-wan Lozan Gya-tsho, who was reported to have entered *samādhi*, had actually died in the year 1681, and his spirit reappeared in one Pakar-dsin-pa Ye-ses Gya-tsho in 1685, whose claim to the hierachial throne was set aside by the Desrid. Pakar-dsin-pa, who was an ordained monk of pure morals, was, however, holding the office of the high priest of Dapuṇ. Accordingly, they set him up as the real Dalai Lama in 1706, but the public hesitated to accept the new pretender as their grand hierarch.

Lhabzan submitted to Chinese authority. The Lamas of the Yellow Church were now on their wit's end, being required to solve a problem of a novel nature. Emissaries were, therefore, sent to the different great monasteries of the Yellow Church in search of a new incarnation of the Dalai Lama. Applications came from the parents of different child-pretenders to the exalted office, which were carefully examined. At last the real embodiment of the Dalai Lama was found at Kumbum—the birth-place of Tsöñ-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Church. The council of Buddhist cardinals comprising of the abbots of Sera, Dapuṇ and Gaḥdan, with the Taśi Lama as president, on whom devolved the responsibility of the right identification, resorted to all manner of religious rites and consultations with the gods for the purpose. All evidence having pointed towards and in favour of the discovery at Kumbum, in a child born in 1707, the matter was reported to the Emperor. Sanction having come, the princely child named Kalzaṇ Gya-tsho was declared Dalai Lama, but, on account of his tender age, the child could not be brought in state to Tibet and installed on the throne of Potala. Kanghi, however, invested him with the

insignia of an imperial order in 1709. But fresh dangers had in the meantime sprung forth which threatened Lhasa and also taxed the energies of the Emperor.

Tshewāñ Rabdan, the powerful chief of Chungar or the left branch of the Celeuth Mongols who had risen to eminence on the downfall of Gushi Khan's kingdom, had espoused the cause of the Tibetans. The friends of Desrid Sangye Gyatsho, with a view to avenge his death and to overthrow Lhabzañ, had communicated to him all that had happened in Tibet. Accordingly, Tshewāñ Rabdan sent a large army to Tibet for punishing the enemies of the Yellow Church. In 1716 the Chinese and Tibetan troops fought a great battle with the Chungar army but were defeated, Lhabzañ being slain. In 1717, the victorious Chungars, at the instance of the Yellow Cap Lamas, sacked the monasteries of rival sects such as Tshur-phu, Samdiñ, Nam-gyal-liñ Dorje Tag, Mindol-liñ and others, situated in the valley of the Tsāngpo. In 1718 they returned to Mongolia.

About the time of the Chungar invasion the Tibetans had endeavoured to be independent, but Kanghi was determined to re-establish his authority over the whole of Mongolia and Tibet. In 1718, when order was restored in Tibet, the Chungar Mongolians being fully subjugated by the victorious Chinese, the young Dalai Lama was brought back to Lhasa from Kumbum by the command of the Emperor, who sent two high commissioners ostensibly to protect the Dalai Lama, but really to form an imperial residency at Lhasa which has since been controlling the political and military affairs of the country.

In 1722, the Chnrgars and the Celeuth Mongols of Kokonur fought with the imperial forces and were defeated. The Chinese killed upwards of seven hundred monks of all grades, including the abbot of Ser-khog-gon, called Chuzañ Rinpoche, and destroyed many religious objects and burnt down many shrines and congregation halls. They demolished the great monastery of Shwa-khog. Many aged monks of Kumbum were also killed by them. In Amdo, in the follow-

ing year, the Chinese generals Kung and Yo-u-then destroyed the temples and grand congregation halls of the Don-luṇ monastery. In 1725 and 1726 there arose internal dissensions in the Government at Lhasa, the Kahłons or ministers having risen against the Desrid-shaṇ-khaṇ Chenpo and killed him. About this time, general Phola Theji⁹ who had gone to Upper Tibet returned to Lhasa with troops from Ladak, Nahri and Tsan. He slew upwards of one thousand men who had been drawn from U and Koṇpo by the rebel ministers, and for a time restored order in the country. In 1727, Chinese troops came to his help and he was enabled to suppress the rebellion of U, killing the three ministers who had headed it. He removed the Dalai Lama to Kahdag, or Kathog monastery in Kham, thinking it would be unsafe to keep him in Lhasa at the time.

NOTE.—This paper has been compiled from Tibetan histories such as *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, &c.

9. On account of his gallant and meritorious services Phola Theji was invested with the title of Chun-waṇ and appointed Desrid by Emperor Yung-ting. Henceforth he became known in Tibet by the name Gyalpo Mi-waṇ. In 1734, by the command of the same Emperor, Chaṇkyā Rinpoche brought back the Dalai Lama to Lhasa from Kahdag (Ka-thog), and thereby restored peace and prosperity in Tibet and Kham.

TIBET UNDER THE TARTAR EMPERORS OF CHINA IN THE 13TH CENTURY A.D.

THE HIERARCHY OF SAKYA

Legendary account: Once on a time there descended on the pure and lofty tableland of Nahri, Upper Tibet, three brothers called Namlha or heavenly gods. The eldest of them was Namlha Chyirin, the second Namlha Yurin, and the youngest Namlha Baseh.

These three brothers were entreated by the people of Nahri to take up the sovereignty of their country. The youngest brother, choosing to dwell upon earth, became king and married the reigning chief's daughter.

To him were born four sons, who became known as the four Sijili brothers. They became involved in disputes with the tribe of Dong and the eighteen ancient tribes of Tibet. With the assistance of Namlha Yu-riñ the princes compelled the eighteen tribes to submit to their authority. Namlha Yu-riñ, also choosing to reside on this earth, married Musa Dembu of the family of Mu, by whom he had seven sons. These were well-known as the Musan brothers. The first six of them, together with their father, are said to have been lifted up to heaven by means of a noose called Muthag or Kyan-thag which had been stretched down by the gods for their delivery.

The youngest son married Thog-cham-oorma, the daughter of Hoichen, the god of thunder and light. His son Thogtsha Paotag married a princess of the Naga named Tama, who presented him with a son who was brave and handsome. He married Monzah, a princess of the royal family of Mon (Sub-Himalaya). They lived at the limit of vegetation on the slope of a snowy peak of that great mountain and named their son Ya-pañ-kye or one born in the higher grass-land. He killed the Srin-mo (demon) named Kya-riñ Thagmeh and carried away his beautiful wife Yabum Silema to his mountain house. By her he had a son who, being born of a

woman captured by fight or Khon, was named Khon Barkyeh, born in the mid-region. Hence originated the great family of Khon which played an important part in the medieval history of Tibet. Khon Barkyeh married a Himalayan princess named Tsan-cham Mon. Their son was Kon-jeh, the accomplished one. Being a man of rare intelligence, valour and promise to achieve extraordinary feats, he wanted to rule over a country. His father sent him to Gañ-zāñ-lha. There observing the eight signs of a good country he made his residence on the slopes of the lofty Nān-tse-thān mountain. At this time¹ there reigned in Tibet the mighty king Khi-sroṇ-deu-tsan.

Early history : In later times the family of Khon multiplied in the valley of Shab-chu in Tsāñ. One of its principal members named Khon Konchog Gyalpo, having received religious instructions and precepts from some learned Lamas, became famous for his learning in Western Tibet. On the occasion of a religious festival, which took place at Doh, he witnessed a Lama dance. In it, many Lamas who pretended to be very holy, took part. Some of them wore the frightful masks of the twenty-eight goddesses called Wañ-chug-ma, and with different weapons in their hands, danced before the assembled people in a fantastic manner. Some Tantrik Lamas, who wore the flowing and clotted locks of the Matrikā or Mamo nymphs, also danced to the music of drums and cymbals. Konchog Gyalpo returning home, described what he had seen to his brother, who observed : "Now the time of the degeneration of the Nyiñ-ma mysticism has arrived. Henceforth, in Tibet, none among the Nyiñ-ma Lamas will attain to sainthood. We must now sever our connexion with them. Let us, therefore, take care of our paternal possessions, our religious books and symbols. In Mankhar there is a Buddhist sage named Dogmi Lotsāva. You should go to take religious instructions from him". He then concealed all his sacred books securely underneath some rocks in a cavern.

1. This was the first part of the 8th century A. D.

Konchog Gyalpo could not find Dogmi at Mankhar, but he met Khyin Lotsāva in a cemetery at Yahluṇ. With him he studied Buddhist metaphysics. Before he could finish his studies the Lotsāva² died; in consequence of which he had to search out Dogmi Lotsāva. He presented his teacher with seventeen pony-loads of valuable things including some beads of precious stones, gold and silver. Having acquired great proficiency in Buddhist metaphysics and in some of the new theories found in the reformed works of Dogmi called "Sarma Choi" (new tenets) he became known as a religious professor. He removed his residence to Yahluṇ. Erecting a small monastery at Taoluṇ, he also spent a few years there. One day, accompanied by one of his disciples, while he was walking on the top of the hill of Taoluṇ, he saw a fine site for a monastery in front of Ponpoiri hill a plot of white land with a river flowing by its right. Noticing that it possessed many auspicious signs, he thought that if he built a monastery upon it, it would contribute much to human happiness and welfare. He asked the advice of his friend Jovo Doṇ-nag, who approved of the proposal. He purchased the land by making present of a white mare, one coat of mail, a string of beads of precious stones and a buckler to the owner. In the 40th year of his age Lama Konchog Gyalpo founded a monastery on the plain of Sakya³ (A. D. 1073), which in the 13th century became the capital of Tibet and also the chief seat of the Sakyapa hierarchs.

CONQUEST OF TIBET BY THE TARTARS

The Tartar Chinghis (Jenghis Khan) made the conquest of the whole of Tibet in the year 1203, about which time Behar and Bengal were seized by the Mahomedans under Baktyar Khiliji. After firmly establishing his authority first in China and then in Tibet, he ordered a general census to be

2. A Tibetan Sanskritist was called Lochava or Lotsāva from *locha* to speak.

3. Sakya (from *sa*, land and *kya*, white) signifies white plain.

taken of the latter country, but before the work could be taken up by his generals in Tibet, he died. His grandson E-chan Gotan, to whose share fell both Tibet and China, hearing the fame of the Pandit Hierarch of Sakya named Kungah Gyal-tshan, invited him to China and received him in audience at his place of Tulpai De. Thus the learned Buddhist Hierarch of Tibet gained the opportunity to implant in the mind of the dreaded monarch the doctrine of Buddha —to have compassion over all living beings and to effect one's own salvation by loving others. The humanizing influence of Buddhism touched the minds of the cruel and blood-thirsty Mongols. They now perceived that brute force did not make them superior to the Lamas who believed in the existence of a thing like love which conquered all. So the Hierarch, in turn quietly effected the spiritual conquest of the heartless Tartars. After his return to Tibet, Kungah Gyal-tshan appointed Sakya Zaño as Pon-chen (chief governor) of Tibet proper. Kungah Gyal-tsan, better known as Sakya Panchen (*pan*, Pandit and *chen*, Great), was so well impressed with the honesty and righteousness of his governor that he ordered all the Lamas with the exception of Huyupa and Sharpa Yeše Chuṇ to make salutation to him.

On the death of E-chan Gotan Khan, Khublai Khan (the miraculous king) became Emperor of China. He removed his residence to Peking and built the Tartar city called Khanbalik, i.e., the city of the great Khan. Shortly after this, he ordered one of his generals named Tamen to proceed to Tibet to arrange for its better government. When Tamen came to take leave of him, the Emperor addressed him in the following terms : "The Tibetans are a powerful nation. In ancient times, when there was a monarchical form of government in that country, the Tibetan armies had invaded China several times. During the reign of Emperor Thajung (Ta-tsung) of the T'ang dynasty, the Tibetans advanced as far as Utai Shan in Shenzi, and at the command of their general

Pa-u-tan-hu, all as one man carried out his orders. Since Chinghis Khan's conquest of it there has been no king in Tibet. The grand Lamas of Sakya are appointed by us. They are our spiritual instructors. Go, therefore, at once to Sakya and by the exercise of your diplomatic tact bring all Tibet fully under our rule". To this gracious command Tamen with profound veneration replied : "Your Majesty, in obedience to the wish of the son of heaven this servant will proceed to Tibet. The people of the country called Sifan (Western country, i.e., Tibet) being brave and wild are not amenable either to their own laws or to the laws of China. Our frontier guards fail to restrain them from their predatory habits. How will your Majesty's servant proceed to Tibet to subdue them, and what arrangements about the expenses of his mission will be permitted ?" The Emperor commanded that he should proceed on his mission and take the necessary funds and articles for presents from the imperial treasury. Arrived at Sakya, he should make division of the country into large and smaller Jam (district) for administrative purposes, apportioning lands to each Jam with due regard to their extent and nature, i.e., according to the sparseness or density of the population in them.

Furnished with credentials from the Emperor and carrying with him suitable presents for the clergy and the laity, Tamen proceeded to Tibet with a large armed escort and a number of survey officers, arrived at Sakya and read the edict of the Emperor before a large number of people assembled for the purpose. He sent the survey officers to the different provinces of the country for reconnoitering. On their report he divided the country lying between Sakya and the Chinese frontier into 27 districts or Jam. Doh-meh or lower Doh, where the land was fertile was divided into seven Jam; Doh-toi (upper Doh) into nine Jam; and U and Tsaiñ into eleven Jam, of which seven, viz., Sakya, Sog, Tsi-mar, Shag, Shapho, Kong and Gonsar, were apportioned to Tsaiñ, and four, viz., Tog, Tshong-dui, Tarlunge and Thom Darang, to U: A Jampon or district officer was appointed over each Jam.

He apportioned these Jam to the thirteen provinces or Thikor into which Tibet was then divided, appointing a Thipon or provincial governor over every one of them. He proclaimed all over Tibet the suzerainty of the great Khan or Emperor of China. After making himself fully acquainted with the customs, manners, laws and requirements of Tibet, Tamen returned to China. The Emperor loaded him with honours and rewards, and in recognition of his merits appointed him President of the grand Yamen of "Son-ching Wen". In order to supervise the administration of the country now parcelled out into 27 Jam, and to preserve the imperial supremacy of the country, the Emperor appointed one of his Tartar nobles, named Ijilig, as Resident of Tibet, and conferred on him the Tartar distinction of Thon-ji. He was the first minister who was sent by a Chinese Emperor to watch the state affairs of Tibet under the grand hierarchy of SAKYA. Henceforth the connection between the two countries (Tibet and China) becoming closer; free and easy intercourse, both commercial and political, made the Tibetan people happy and prosperous.

After starting Thon-ji Ijilig on his mission to Tibet, the Emperor himself led a large army to Jan-yul.⁴ No resistance was offered by the people of that country to his victorious army. He annexed two provinces of Amdo to China, and made over two provinces of Upper Doh (modern Kham) to Tibet.

In the tenth year of Emperor Kublai's reign Lama Phagpa, the hierarch of Sakya, was appointed spiritual instructor of the Imperial family. As a reward for this service the Emperor made a grant of the following districts to Lama Phagpa : Gacha Rab-kha, Nangso Latog-pa, Gangaitsa Lama Khar and Dan Khang. The Jam of Gong, which remained apart from U and Tsan was also assigned to him. These are said to have contained very fertile soil, a *kang* (Tibetan acre of which was able to grow 5,000 *tar da*⁵ of barley.

4. This included the Kokonur country and Amdo.

5. About 10 lbs.

Lama Phagpa paid three visits to China, and was every time received with the highest reverence by the Emperor at his grand palace of Taitu. The Emperor, Empress and the princes received religious blessings according to the cult of the Sakyapa school of Buddhism. On the second occasion the thirteen Thikor of Tibet were presented to the Hierarch by the Emperor for the service of the Lamaic Church.⁶ On the third occasion, it is stated, that all Tibet, which was anciently divided into three *cholkha*,⁷ was presented to the grand hierarch of Sakya. Such liberality on the part of a monarch was unexampled in the world's history. The Emperor not only assigned the revenue of the whole country for the service of the Church but also kept its government under his direct control for ensuring peace and prosperity to the Land of the Lamas.

In the beginning of the year Earth-Dragon two Commissioners, named Akon and Mingling were deputed by the Emperor to make an official enumeration of the people of Tibet. They, with the help of Ponchen Šākyā Zaṇpo, the chief Governor of Tibet, who was invested with the decorations and title of Zam-du·gun Wen-hu for his eminent services, took the first census of Tibet. They enumerated all the families residing in the provinces from Naḥ-ri to Shalu in Tsān, and governor Situ Akyi-get worked in the remaining provinces.

Upper Tibet, comprising the valleys of the higher Indus and Sutlej which was divided into three *kor* or circles and

6. Very probably one-sixth of the revenue of the thirteen. Thikor (which was the king's due) was granted to Lama Phagpa for the service of Church and the support of the monasteries.

7. Formerly, Tibet Proper and Greater Tibet, which is now called Ulterior Tibet, were included in the three Cholkha. All the countries lying between Guṇ-thān in Naḥ-ri and Sog-la Kyavo were included in what was called Choikyi Cholkha i.e., the division or province of Buddhism. The provinces between Sog-la Kyavo and Machu (Hoangho) headwaters formed the 2nd Cholkha, the place of black-headed men. The countries lying between Machu and Gya Chorten Karpo, the gate of the great wall where there was a white chorten, were included in the third Cholkha, the original home of the horse.

therefore, called Nah-ri Kor-sum,⁸ returned altogether 2,635 families, exclusive of 767 families residing within the territories of the Nah-dag, the hereditary chieftain of Nah-ri who claimed his descent from king Sron-tsan Gampo. In the southern districts of La-toi Lhopa, there were 1,088 families while the northern districts, called La-toi Chang returned 2,250 families.

The total of families in Nah-ri and Tsan was 15,690 and that of the province of U (Central Tibet), including Kongpo, was 20,763, giving a grand total of 36,453. The population of Yam Dok (Lake Palti districts), which was at this time divided into six Leb and estimated at 750 families, was excluded from the above total. So also all the lands held by the different monasteries were not included in the state list which was made for the levying of revenues. A separate enumeration of the families contained in them was made. In Chumig Thikor there were 3,021 families; under Shalu 3,892 families. The Chang-dok, including lake Teng-ri-nor or Nam-tsho, till then not being included in any of the Thikor, was left out in the Census.

Mang-khar and Til-chen owned 120 families; Tsangpa, 87 families; Dodong-riseb, 77 families; and Tomolung, Rasa, Kha-gangpa, 75 families; Dopeh-mar-wa, 125 families; 35 families belonged to the service of the cathedral of Lhasa, in which the central image of Buddha, the historical Jovo or Lord Śākyamuni was located; Rasa-na-kor possessed 30 families, and Marla Thangpa only ten families.

Washi-lago returned 131 families, Gya-mapo contained 50 families, Thang-tsha, 150 families, and Tshong-dui 114 families. Within the division of Geru, including Sakya, Latoi-lho, Kodeh, Do-chung and Yahru, there were 3,630 families. Dangra and Durminyeg contained altogether 30 families.

In the province of U: Under Di-khuñ monastery there were 3,630 families, consisting of agricultural and pastoral people called Pyopa and Dok-pa. Under the Tshal-pa Lamas

8. Purāñ, with the mountains of Kangri, formed one *kor* or circle. Guge with numerous defiles and rugged cliffs, formed one *kor*. Mañ-yul, with its mountain streams and glaciers formed one *kor*.

there were 3,702 families. Phag-modu monastery returned 2,438 families, Yazang-pa contained 3,000 families. Gya-mawa and Cha-yul jointly returned 5,850 families. Samye and Chim-phu-pa possessed 20 families exclusive of those who resided in the ancient endowments. In Döh there were 70 families. Gung-khor-pa and Thang-pa returned 70 families. Under the Lhasa authorities there were 600 families.

Rab-tsün-pa returned 90 families and the Duk-pa authorities of Ralung returned 225 families. The Thang-po-che returned 50 families.

In the district of Du-gu-gang and Kharagpo there were 232 and 88 families respectively. This earliest enumeration of the people of Tibet (U and Tsāñ) made during the first establishment of political relations between China and the grand hierarchs of Sakya, was obtained from a manuscript roll of *daphne* paper which contained the seal of the first Ponchen, named Śākyā Zangpo, by the author of the book called *Gya-poi-kyi Yig-tshāñ* (records of China and Tibet) in the archives of Sakya and preserved in his book.

During the reigns of Khublai Khan's successors, in land and revenue matters, a clear distinction was made between state and church possessions. At the commencement of the reign of Thakwan Themur, the last Emperor of the Yen or Tartar dynasty, Commissioners Tha-gu Anugan and Kechog-tai Ping-chang were deputed to take a general census of Tibet. They were assisted by Ponchen Shon-nu Wang in his second administration of that country. The enumeration of men and households was made in the following manner :—

In order to be counted as a Hordu—a Tartar family was required to possess the following :

1. A house supported at least by six pillars within its four walls.
2. Land for cultivation comprising an area over which 100 to 1,000 lb. of seed-grain could be sown.
3. Husband and wife, together with all the junior brothers who shared with the husband the wife's bed, two children, and a pair of domestic servants—in all seven or more.

4. Cattle—one milch cow, one heifer, a pair of plough bullocks, one he-goat and 12 she-goats, one ram with 12 ewes.

These four heads completed the qualifications of a Tibetan family for paying revenue to the state for the lands it held under Government.

Such a family was called *Hordu*, from *hor*, Tartar nomad and *du* smoke. From the top-hole of a Tartar tent issued the smoke of cooking which gave the name of *Hordu* to the owner of the tent. Though the term *Pyodu* signified a Tibetan agriculturist's house or family, the two words afterwards became mixed up. The word *Tsa-du* a settled family paying revenue, also became mixed up with the other two terms.

Fifty such *Hordu* formed a *Tago*.

Two *Tago* made a *Gya-kor* (circle of 1,000 families).

Ten *Tong-kor* formed one *Thikor* or *Thikhon* (a circle of 10,000 families).

The population of Tibet proper was originally estimated at a million and three hundred thousand souls, out of which 22,000 belonged to the church. Tibet was originally divided into 13 *Thikor*, each *Thikor* containing circles averaging 10,000 families or at least 100,000 souls. A *Thipon* (chief over 10,000) was appointed over every *Thikor*.

Ten *Thikor* formed one *Lu*.

Ten *Lu* formed one *Shing*. Under Emperor Kublai there were eleven such *Shing*, outside of China, over which he ruled from his capital Taitu (Peking). The three great provinces of Tibet, then designated under the name of Chlokha-sum, did not form even one *Shing*; yet, out of courtesy, and because it was the headquarters of Buddhism, the Emperor permitted Tibet to be counted as a *Shing*.

From every full *Thikor* Government permitted about 1,000 males to be drawn to the church to be monks for whose support one-sixth of the revenue was made a present to the hierarchs of Sakya.

It is also stated that in the year Fire-Hog, twenty years after the first census, two Commissioners, named Hosha and Oonu Khan, were deputed by the great Yamen of Peking to

make a more correct enumeration of the inhabitants of Tibet. Their labours were embodied in a voluminous work called *Losal-kungah-gyan Rin Theng*.

In the Debther (official records) compiled by Du-wensha, Shon-nu-gon, and one of the ministers of Sakya, the following accounts occur : Tibet was divided into districts and sub-districts called Jam-chen (larger district) and Jam-chuṇ (smaller district). The province of Tsāñ, together with Nāh-ri, was divided into four Jam-chen. Every Jam-chen was divided among 100 Go, or headmen. Sakya was constituted into a separate Jam-chen; South Marla-thāñ was formed into a Jam-chuṇ, Shah-khar Nāh-ri, Gyam-ring, and Pong-lēn, each formed a Jam-chuṇ.

The last, i.e., Ponglen, was constituted into what is called Mag-jam, districts for military purpose yielding revenue. The Jam-chuṇ Mansarawara was held by the authorities of Purāñ.

Of the 3,892 families of Shalu, 832 were made over to the Chyrog-tshang-pa, 3,060 were included in Tshong-din. So Shalu monastery was made dependent of Tshong-dui authorities. Chyarog-tshang was placed under 28 Tago. The Shang districts which were included in Tag-jam, were placed under eleven Tago. Yamdok was divided into 16 Leb. The Jam-chuṇ of Yarsred was held by the Uamdonk authorities.

The following Jam were formed in U :

1. Gopeh-jam included Diklung, with 3,000 Hordu.
2. Dar-jam included Chya-yul, with 2,650 Hordu.
3. Tshal-pai Retse contained 450 families.
4. Sog-jam, in addition to its strength of 2,650 Gyamapa (mixed Tibetan and Chinese) families, included Tshalpa Zung-khar, and thereby possessed 3,000 families.
5. Tsi-mar-jam included Phag-modu with 2,438 Hordu, Satag with 500 and Lhasa 600 families.
6. Sha-po-jam comprising Tugu-ganj, Kharag Dukpa, Tama Thang-pa had 200 families. Holkha-pa possessed 400 families.
7. Kong-jam, including Yah-zang, contained 3,000 families.

TIBET, A DEPENDENCY OF MONGOLIA (A.D. 1643—1716)

The six Khanates of Mongolia had, for a long time, remained under a solemn compact which kept them in peace. At last, the Khan of Chakar named Legdan, who had grown ambitious, made a breach into it, in consequence of which internal dissensions broke out among them. Friendly advisors and intermediators came from the neighbouring states to bring upon reconciliation among the contending parties in Khalkha, the country of the Kulmue Mongols. One of the claimants to inheritance in that Khanate being driven out of the country, came with his hordes to the bank of Lake T'higcog Gyalmo and took possession of the province of Hoco-tshe of Thumed-Mongolia. His descendant who had settled there was attached to the *shwa-mar* or Red-cap School of Tibet. About this time the rival sects of Buddhism, namely, the Red-cap and the Yellow-cap Lamas, were fighting with each other in Tibet. Rab-chyampa, a representative of the Red-cap sect, proceeded to Mongolia and appealed for help to the Khan of Hoco-tshe. In the year Tree-Hog the Khan sent his son Arsaling (Abaling) at the head of 10,000 Tartars to Tibet to extirpate the Yellow-cap Church. The prince being humane and pious refrained from doing injury to the Yellow-cap Lamas, so the Red-cap Lamas, out of spite, sent misrepresentations against him to his father, accusing him of partiality to their enemies. The Khan, who was at that time engaged in war in the Kokonor country, became furious at his son's conduct and wrote to the Rab-chyampa to take the prince's life. On Arsaling's death, which was probably caused either by poison or assassination, the Tartar troops were thrown into disorder. For the want of a leader they dispersed like a cloud and returned to their country. About this time the Khan of Duthukthu, a descendant of Jenghis Khan who had also espoused the cause of the Red-cap Lamas, started

from Chakar with a large army to help them in their struggle with the Yellow-Church. But on his arrival at Kokonor he accidentally died. A great enemy of Buddhism now arose in Khan who followed the Bon religion. This was the King of Beri, named Don-yo Dorje. He, like King Lañdarma, had destroyed all the Buddhist institutions of Kham belonging to the Red-cap and the Yellow-cap sects. He was about to start with a large army for conquering Tibet proper when the Khan of Oelenth Mongols entered Kham with his Tartar hordes. This was Gushi Khan, the third of the five sons of the Khan of Hocod, one of the four divisions of Orad Mongolia. Like Jenghis Khan, he too was believed to have been an incarnation of the Lord of Death. His native name was Toral Behu, but he is better known by the names Gushi Khan or Gegan Khan. Owing to his devotion to the cause of the Yellow-cap Church he is known in Tibet by the Tibetan name of Tenzing Choigyal, the Upholder of Religion or Dharma Rājā. While only thirteen years of age he was entrusted by his father with the leadership of the Tartar hordes. He defeated the Gokar¹ Tartars and brought them under subjection in 1593. At the age of 25 he was successful in reconciling the Kulmucs of Khalkha with the Oeleuth Mongols who were quarrelling on account of a question of precedence between the hierarch of Gañdan and Ston-skor Sabs-drung named Jetsundampa, and thereby averted a fierce and bloody war in the heart of Mongolia. For this service, he was decorated with the holy order of Ta Kausri by the Emperor of China in 1605, from which circumstance his name Kushri or Gushi Khan had originated. At the age of 35, at the earnest entreaties of Desrid Sonam Choiphel, Pañchen Rinpoche of Tashi-lhunpo and other representatives of the Yellow Church, he agreed to march into Tibet to punish their enemies. In the year Fire-Ox in the first month, i.e., February, he entered Kokonor with a large army. He despatched about 10,000

1. The Western Mongolians who had become Mahomedans were called Gokar on account of their using the white Pagri, from *go* head and *kar* white.

troops to Chog-thu in Khalkha to suppress a rebellion there. His hordes routed 40,000 Tartars in a single battle fought at Utan Hoco in one day, and killed the Khan. From Kokonor, Gushri Khan moved towards Tibet. He reached the great monastery of Gaḥdan in the auspicious evening of the 27th day of the month, when he saw a halo of light brightening the horizon at dusk.

During the winter of that year he again visited Kokonor, and from there proceeding to Kham, on the 25th of the 11th month, he annexed the whole of King Beri's dominions to his kingdom. Seeing that Beri would be dangerous to both the Church and the State, he put him to death and released the Lamas of the several Buddhist sects who had been thrown into prison by that apostate king of Kham. Gushri then brought under his control all the territories bordering on Jangsathul—the dominions of the king of Jangsa. Then entering Tibet proper with his invincible hordes, he made presents to the great monasteries of the Yellow Church and proclaimed his authority over the whole country. From Lhasa he marched to Tsan with the major portion of his army. In the year called Water-Horse, on the 8th of the first month, he captured thirteen large Jongs (forts), including that of Samdub-tse at Shigatse, and overthrew the power of the king of Tsan. On the 25th of the 11th month he threw him into prison. At first, out of respect for the valour of the fallen monarch, he did not order him to be beheaded, but at the representation of the leaders of the Yellow Church he was found guilty of the highest crime, having had established a rival monastery of the Red-cap Church called Tashizil, in the immediate vicinity of Tashilhunpo, with the object of ruining the latter. Gushri Khan caused him to be packed in a hide² and then therw him into the river. He then commenced the pious work of establishing a University with thirteen colleges,

2. This punishment is called *Ko-thumgyab-pa*, i.e. packing the criminal in hide or skin and then throwing him in the deep water of a river. This is the capital punishment that is inflicted on the higher class of criminals in Tibet.

which were called Ling or divisions, at Lhasa, for the education of both the laity and the clergy. Of these thirteen Lings only four have survived, namely, Tan-gyeling, Tshe-chogling, Kundu-ling and Tshemo-ling. He brought all the great Cholka or Provinces of Tibet under his power. Hearing that the Lamas of Kongpo were greatly attached to the Red-cap Karmapa Sect, he sent a division of his army there and annexed the eastern provinces to his dominions. He now declared himself the supreme ruler of all Tibet and Mongolia, and sat on the Lion-throne of Potala at Lhasa. On this auspicious occasion he received presents from the border states of India, such as—Bushing (probably Bushahir), Yambu (Nepal), Ngah-ri (Ladak), etc. The Tibetans of the older sects began to regard him as an incarnation of their saint Padma Sambhava. After making the Yellow Church dominant all over Tibet and Mongolia he shewed tolerance to the followers of the rival sects and patronized learning. Thus Mongolia and Tibet being brought together under the sovereignty of one Royal Umbrella, the religion of Buddha, as reformed by Tsöñ-khapa, flourished and shone with greater lustre than it had done even during the reformer's time. Under the benign rule of this devout king all classes of people enjoyed peace and prosperity, as if they were living in the ideal age of perfection.

After Gushri Khan's death his son Dayan Khan reigned for fourteen years over Tibet. On his death his son Talai Khan, also called Ratna Gyalpo, succeeded to the throne. Ratna's eldest son named Tanzin Wangyal succeeded him, but he did not reign long, being mysteriously poisoned. During the reigns of these kings the office of the Desrid was successively filled by Pon Sonam Choiphel for seventeen years, from the year Iron-Serpent; by Thim-las Gyatsho for ten years; by Lozang Thutob for six years; and by Lozang Jinpa for three years. Then it passed to the layman Sangye Gyatsho who held it for nearly twenty-five years from the year Earth-Sheep, during which time he completed the building of the nine-storeyed palace on Potala called the Phodang Marpo. In the

year Fire-Tiger there was war between the Khalkha and the Eleuth Mongols. The hierarch of Gaḥdan, named Thi-lodoi Gyatsho, reconciled the belligerents to each other and induced them to make a treaty of peace. On the death of Tanzing Wangyal, Lhabzang, the younger son of Ratna who was exiled, succeeded to the throne. His first act was to wreak vengeance³ on the Dearid Sangye Gyatsho, who had been instrumental in bringing about his banishment. During his exile Lhabzang had collected about 500 Tartar troops. Entering Tibet with them he collected a large army from the 13 Thikor of Tibet, besides Kongpo and other provinces and took possession of the throne. In the year Tree-Bird he killed Desrid Sangye Gyatsho. He reigned for nearly thirteen years.

Hearing the news of Desrid's violent death, the Khan of Chungar (Zungaria), the left branch of the Eleuth Mongols named Hung Thaije, who was devoted to the Yellow-cap Church, sent presents to the Dalai Lama, and with a view to restore peace and prosperity in the troubled land of the Lamas, sent his generals to invade Tibet with a large army. In the year Fire-Bird they captured Lhasa, defeating Lhabzang in a battle in which he fell. Thus in 1716 ended the short-lived kingdom founded by Gushri Khan in Tibet. In the year 1717 the Chungar army, after sacking the Niñma monasteries of Namgyaling, Dorje Tag, Mindol-ling, etc., and making the Yellow-cap Church still more pre-dominant all over Tibet, returned to Mongolia.

3. At this period it was suspected that the Lama authorities of the Yellow-cap Church were intriguing to kill the king (Lhabzañ) by exorcism.

INTRODUCTION OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE IN MONGOLIA IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Tartar Conqueror, Chinghis Khan, at the age of 45, invaded Tibet with his hordes in the year A.D. 1202-3. At this time Tibet was divided into several petty independent states under rulers called Desrid and chiefs called Deba. There were also a few Buddhist hierarchies in U and Tsan which flourished under the protection of the rulers of those provinces. When Chinghis entered the country with his invincible hordes, the Tibetan chiefs did not unite together in a body to oppose the invader, but on the contrary welcomed him. Desrid Jogah of U and Kundor of the province of Tshal-wa received him with royal honours. So, practically the Tibetans presented their country¹ to the conqueror Chinghis Khan, who after fully establishing his supremacy over Tibet, is said to have returned to Mongolia. He sent messengers, with a letter of invitation, to Lama Kungah Niñ-po, the hierarch of the monastery of Sakya, in Tsan, asking him to visit Mongolia (Hor) with his spiritual son, for the purpose of introducing the religion of Buddha in Mongolia. Although the Lama had not obtained a personal interview with the conqueror during his stay in Tibet, yet, it is stated, that a kind of spiritual relation had been established between the two parties from a distance; and revenues of Tibet were appropriated to religious services and to the support of the Buddhist clergy of U and Tsan by the permission of the conqueror.

From this circumstance, the Tibetan historians have thought it fit to give Chinghis Khan a place among the Dharma Rāja (Buddhist kings), though it is doubtful if the conqueror himself ever cared for it.

After Chinghis's death, his grandsons, princes Guyug and Gutan, at their mother's advice, proceeded with their followers to Sar Thala in northern Shin-ning and at first ruled there. From Sar Thala they extended their dominions down to Kham. While they were reigning at Lanchau within the

1. It then comprised of Nah-ri Korsum, U, Tsan and Ru-lshi.

Great wall, they sent messengers to Tibet to bring the celebrated Sakya Paṇḍita Kungaḥ Gyal-tshan to Hor. This hierarch of Sakya had, about this time, defeated several Brahminical disputants who had challenged him to prove that Buddhism was superior to the Brahminical creed. Sakya Paṇḍita was versed in the five divisions of Arts. The Mongolian messengers came to Tsān (*i.e.* arrived at Sakya) in the year called Iron-Mouse of the 4th Cycle. Sakya Paṇḍita had seen a prediction left by Lama Sonam-tse-mo, one of his predecessors, to the effect that an invitation would come to one of his successors, from the Hor, a people that wore hawk-shaped caps and shoes resembling pig's snout. Accordingly, he proceeded to Hor, accompanied by his nephews Phyag-na and Phag-pa. In the year Fire-Sheep the Lamas came to the Mongolian Court where they had an audience of king Gutan and received royal favours. Sakya Paṇḍita became the king's spiritual tutor, and is said to have performed many miracles and magical exhibition of his occult powers. At the wish of the king to introduce writing for the use of his people, and particularly that they might be trained in the Buddhist religion, Sakya Paṇḍita designed the Mongolian character, to suit the tongue of the Hor people. He shaped the new character after the teeth of a saw, and taught his pupils to write them from top to bottom in the manner of the Chinese writing. The Mongolian tongue was not capable of producing the peculiar tones, half-tones, and quarter-tones which were peculiar to the Chinese. The Mongols, however, were able to pronounce fully all polly-syllabic words.

The first series of letters, comprising vowels and consonants and their compouuds, which Sakya Paṇḍita had designed, were the following, arranged in groups of three :

A, e, i; na, ne, ni; pa, pe, pi; ka, ke, khi; ga, ge, gi; ma, me, mi; la, le, li; ra, re, ri; ta, te, ti; tha, the, thi; tsa, tse, tsı; tsha, tshe, tshi; ya, ye, yi; wa, we, wi. These were afterwards increased to 148 letters.

Some Tibetan historians say that the sixth younger brother of the Great Khan (Emperor Khublai) named Torta visited

Tibet, at the head of a large army, to consolidate the Emperor's authority over the country. Being struck with the elaborate religious ceremonies of the Tibetan Lamas, and also being impressed with the importance of the literature of Tibet, he took with him Lama Sakya Pandita to Hor for teaching the Lamaic cult to the Mongols.

During the reign of Mung-khe, in Hor, the Karmapa Lamas, under Bakshi, who had established spiritual relations with that monarch, attempted to improve the newly-formed written language of the Mongols, but no appreciable success attended their efforts. It was Lama Phag-pa Lha, the spiritual tutor of Emperor Khublai, who in the year Iron-Horse framed the square-shaped Mongolian character. After Mung-khe's death, his younger brother, Sechen Khublai (the Great Khan of Marco Polo), who was born in the year Tree-Dog, succeeded to the throne in the year Iron-Monkey. He conquered the Jang country, and within the year Iron-Sheep established his authority over the whole of China, Mongolia and Tibet. He built the great fortified cities of Peking, Chuhan, Khura and Thuling-thing. When these great works were done, he invited Lama Phag-pa Lha ('Phags-pa Lodoi Gyal-tshan, in Chinese, called Bash-pa) of Sakya, and appointed him his spiritual tutor. The Empress received the Tantrik initiation of Hevajra from him. In consequence of this encouragement the Lamaism of Tibet became introduced in China. The Buddhism of Tibet henceforth came to be known under the name of Lama, which was thereby distinguished from the older Buddhism of China followed by the Hoshans. During the reign of Emperor Olgai-thu, Lama Choi-kyi-hod of Sakya, then resident at Peking, finding the square-shaped characters quite unsuited for practical purposes of correspondence, etc., made improvements in the saw-shaped characters by adding tails and diaresis and other marks to the existing letters and thereby adding to their number and giving more powers to them. He, in fact, completed the written language of Mongolia, and taught his pupils to translate religious books in the same from the Chinese and Tibetan.

It is stated that Chinghis, during his lifetime, had appointed his son Oko-te (also written Oga-te) as Viceroy over his Mongol-Chinese Empire with Chu-tsha, a chief of the tribe of Khitan, as prime minister. After the Conqueror's death Oko-te reigned for six years from the Earth-Mouse year. He was succeeded by his son Gu-yug, who was born in the year Tree-Ox, and died after a reign of six months, in the year Water-Serpent. He was succeeded by his younger brother Go-tan (who was born in the year Fire-Tiger) in the year Tree-Horse. In the following year, when he was attacked with leprosy, Go-tan sent for Sakya Pandit Kungah Gyal-tshan. He responded to the Khan's call, and is said to have cured him of the loathsome disease, by the efficacy of some Buddhist charms, chiefly by reciting the *Simhanāda-sūtra*. Both the king and his Lama died in the year Iron-Hog. Though it is stated that the two brothers Go-yug and Go-tan had succeeded to their father's throne, they only reigned over a part of the empire, having gone towards Thala in the east and extended their sway down to Kham, but the real succession to the Mongol-Chinese Empire had passed to Mung-khe, the eldest of the four sons of Tholo, born in the year Fire-Hare. He reigned from the year Water-Mouse to the year Earth-Sheep.

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